THE WORKS OF

HENRY FIELDING

MISCELLANIES

II

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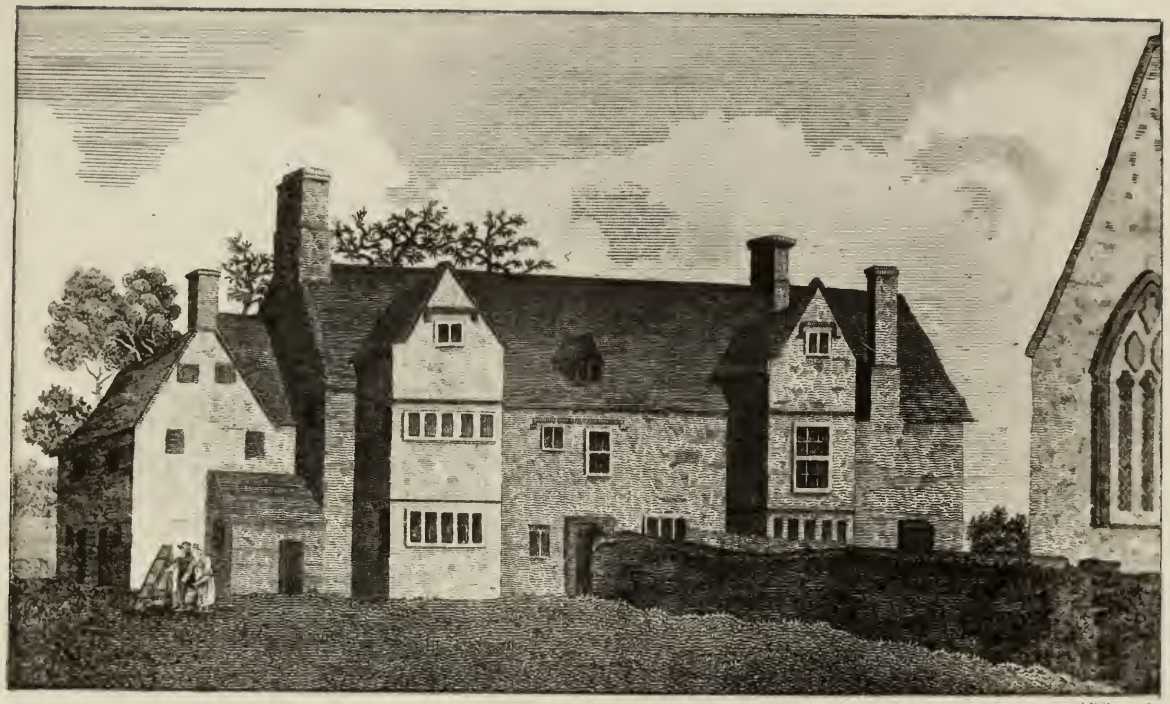

Mr Queen Sc

House inhabited by Henry Fielding at East Stour

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HENRY FIELDING

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

EDMUND GOSSE

VOLUME XII

WESTMINSTER
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.
NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
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VOLUME TWO

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THE PREFACE TO
DAVID SIMPLE

THE PREFACE TO

DAVID SIMPLE

As so many worthy persons have, I am told, ascribed the honour of this performance to me, they will not be surprised at seeing my name to this preface; nor am I very insincere when I call it an honour; for, if the authors of the age are amongst the number of those who have conferred it on me, I know very few of them to whom I shall return the compliment of such a suspicion.

I could indeed have been very well content with the reputation, well knowing that some writings may be justly laid to my charge of a merit greatly inferior to that of the following work, had not the imputation directly accused me of falsehood, in breaking a promise, which I have solemnly made in print, of never publishing even a pamphlet without setting my name to it—a promise I have always hitherto faithfully kept; and, for the sake of men's characters, I wish all other writers were by law obliged to use the same method; but, till

they are, I shall no longer impose any such restraint on myself.

A second reason which induces me to refute this untruth is, that it may have a tendency to injure me in a profession to which I have applied with so arduous and intent a diligence that I have had no leisure, if I had inclination, to compose anything of this kind. Indeed, I am very far from entertaining such an inclination: I know the value of the reward which fame confers on authors too well to endeavour any longer to obtain it; nor was the world ever more unwilling to bestow the glorious, envied prize of the laurel or bays, than I should now be to receive any such garland or fool's-cap. There is not, I believe, (and it is bold to affirm,) a single free Briton in this kingdom who hates his wife more heartily than I detest the Muses. They have, indeed, behaved to me like the most infamous harlots, and have laid many a spurious as well as deformed production at my door; in all which my good friends the critics have, in their profound discernment, discovered some resemblance of the parent; and thus I have been reputed and reported the author of half the scurrility, bawdy, treason, and blasphemy, which these few last years have produced.

I am far from thinking every person who hath thus aspersed me had a determinate design of doing me an injury; I impute it only

to an idle, childish levity, which possesses too many minds, and makes them report their conjectures as matters of fact, without weighing the proof or considering the consequence. But as to the former of these, my readers will do well to examine their own talents very strictly before they are too thoroughly convinced of their abilities to distinguish an author's style so accurately as from that only to pronounce an anonymous work to be his; and, as to the latter, a little reflection will convince them of the cruelty they are guilty of by such reports. For my own part, I can aver that there are few crimes of which I should have been more ashamed than of some writings laid to my charge. I am as well assured of the injuries I have suffered from such unjust imputations, not only in general character, but as they have, I conceive, frequently raised me inveterate enemies in persons to whose disadvantage I have never entertained a single thought; nay, in men whose characters and even names have been unknown to me.

Among all the scurrilities with which I have been accused, (though equally and totally innocent of every one,) none ever raised my indignation so much as the Causidicade; this accused me not only of being a bad writer and a bad man, but with downright idiotism, in flying in the face of the greatest men of my profession. I take therefore this opportunity

to protest that I never saw that infamous, paltry libel till long after it had been in print; nor can any man hold it in greater contempt and abhorrence than myself.

The reader will pardon my dwelling so long on this subject, as I have suffered so cruelly by these aspersions in my own ease, in my reputation, and in my interest. I shall, however, henceforth treat such censure with the contempt it deserves, and do here revoke the promise I formerly made; so that I shall now look upon myself at full liberty to publish an anonymous work, without any breach of faith. For though probably I shall never make any use of this liberty, there is no reason why I should be under a restraint for which I have not enjoyed the purposed recompence.

A third, and indeed the strongest, reason which hath drawn me into print, is to do justice to the real and sole author of this little book; who, notwithstanding the many excellent observations dispersed through it, and the deep knowledge of human nature it discovers, is a young woman; one so nearly and dearly allied to me, in the highest friendship as well as relation, that if she had wanted any assistance of mine I would have been as ready to have given it her as I would have been just to my word in owning it; but, in reality, two or three hints which arose on the reading it, and some little direction as to the conduct of the

second volume, much the greater part of which I never saw till in print, were all the aid she received from me. Indeed, I believe there are few books in the world so absolutely the author's own as this.

There were some grammatical and other errors in style in the first impression, which my absence from town prevented my correcting, as I have endeavoured, though in great haste, in this edition: by comparing the one with the other, the reader may see, if he think it worth his while, the share I have in this book as it now stands, and which amounts to little more than the correction of some small errors, which want of habit in writing chiefly occasioned, and which no man of learning would think worth his censure in a romance, nor any gentleman in the writings of a young woman.

And as the faults of this work want very little excuse, so its beauties want as little recommendation; though I will not say but they may sometimes stand in need of being pointed out to the generality of readers. For as the merit of this work consists in a vast penetration into human nature, a deep and profound discernment of all the mazes, windings, and labyrinths, which perplex the heart of man to such a degree that he is himself often incapable of seeing through them; and as this is the greatest, noblest, and rarest of all the talents

which constitute a genius; so a much larger share of this talent is necessary even to recognize these discoveries, when they are laid before us, than falls to the share of a common reader. Such beauties therefore in an author must be contented to pass often unobserved and untasted; whereas, on the contrary, the imperfections of this little book, which arise, not from want of genius, but of learning, lie open to the eyes of every fool who has had a little Latin inoculated into his tail; but had the same great quantity of birch been better employed in scourging away his ill-nature, he would not have exposed it in endeavouring to cavil at the first performance of one whose sex and age entitle her to the gentlest criticism, while her merit, of an infinitely higher kind, may defy the severest. But I believe the warmth of my friendship hath led me to engage a critic of my own imagination only; for I should be sorry to conceive such a one had any real existence. If, however, any such composition of folly, meanness, and malevolence should actually exist, he must be as incapable of conviction as unworthy of an answer. I shall therefore proceed to the more pleasing task of pointing out some of the beauties of this little work.

I have attempted in my preface to "Joseph Andrews" to prove that every work of this kind is in its nature a comic epic poem, of

which Homer left us a precedent, though it be unhappily lost.

The two great originals of a serious air, which we have derived from that mighty genius, differ principally in the action, which in the "Iliad" is entire and uniform; in the "Odyssey" is rather a series of actions, all tending to produce one great end. Virgil and Milton are, I think, the only pure imitators of the former; most of the other Latin, as well as Italian, French, and English epic poets, choosing rather the history of some war, as Lucan and Silius Italicus, or a series of adventures, as Ariosto, &c., for the subject of their poems.

In the same manner the comic writer may either fix on one action, as the authors of "Le Lutrin," the "Dunciad," &c.; or on a series, as Butler in verse and Cervantes in prose have done.

Of this latter kind is the book now before us, where the fable consists of a series of separate adventures, detached from and independent on each other, yet all tending to one great end; so that those who should object want of unity of action here may, if they please, or if they dare, fly back with their objection in the face even of the Odyssey itself.

This fable hath in it these three difficult ingredients, which will be found on consideration to be always necessary to works of this kind, viz., that the main end or scope be at once amiable, ridiculous, and natural.

If it be said that some of the comic performances I have above mentioned differ in the first of these, and set before us the odious instead of the amiable, I answer, that is far from being one of their perfections; and of this the authors themselves seem so sensible that they endeavour to deceive their reader by false glosses and colours, and by the help of irony at least to represent the aim and design of their heroes in a favourable and agreeable light.

I might farther observe that, as the incidents arising from this fable, though often surprising, are everywhere natural, (credibility not being once shocked through the whole,) so there is one beauty very apparent, which hath been attributed by the greatest of critics to the greatest of poets, that every episode bears a manifest impression of the principal design, and chiefly turns on the perfection or imperfection of friendship; of which noble passion, from its highest purity to its lowest falsehoods and disguises, this little book is, in my opinion, the most exact model.

As to the characters here described, I shall repeat the saying of one of the greatest men in this age: "That they were as wonderfully drawn by the writer as they were by Nature herself." There are many strokes in Orgueil, Spatter, Varnish, Le-vif, the Balancer, and some others, which would have shined in the pages of Theophrastus, Horace, or La Bruyère.

Nay, there are some touches which I will venture to say might have done honour to the pencil of the immortal Shakespear himself.

The sentiments are in general extremely delicate; those particularly which regard friendship are, I think, as noble and elevated as I have anywhere met with; nor can I help remarking that the author hath been so careful, in justly adapting them to her characters, that a very indifferent reader, after he is in the least acquainted with the character of the speaker, can seldom fail of applying every sentiment to the person who utters it. Of this we have the strongest instance in Cynthia and Camilla, where the lively spirit of the former, and the gentle softness of the latter, breathe through every sentence which drops from either of them.

The diction I shall say no more of than, as it is the last and lowest perfection in a writer, and one which many of great genius seem to have little regarded, so I must allow my author to have the least merit on this head; many errors in style existing in the first edition, and some, I am convinced, remaining still uncured in this; but experience and habit will most certainly remove this objection; for a good style, as well as a good hand in writing, is chiefly learned by practice.

I shall here finish these short remarks on this little book, which have been drawn from

me by those people who have very falsely and impertinently called me its author. I declare I have spoken no more than my real sentiments of it, nor can I see why any relation or attachment to merit should restrain me from its commendation.

The true reason why some have been backward in giving this book its just praise, and why others have sought after some more known and experienced author for it, is, I apprehend, no other than an astonishment how one so young, and in appearance so unacquainted with the world, should know so much both of the better and worse part as is here exemplified: but, in reality, a very little knowledge of the world will afford an observer, moderately accurate, sufficient instances of evil; and a short communication with her own heart will leave the author of this book very little to seek abroad of all the good which is to be found in human nature.

HENRY FIELDING.

A TRUE STATE OF THE CASE OF BOSAVERN PENLEZ, WHO SUFFERED ON ACCOUNT OF THE LATE RIOT IN THE STRAND

In which the Law regarding these Offences and the Statute of George the First, commonly called the Riot Act, are fully considered.

A TRUE STATE OF THE CASE OF BOSAVERN PENLEZ

It may easily be imagined that a man whose character hath been so barbarously, even without the least regard to truth or decency, aspersed, on account of his endeavours to defend the present government, might wish to decline any future appearance as a political writer; and this possibly may be thought by some a sufficient reason of that reluctance with which I am drawn forth to do an act of justice to my King, and his administration, by disabusing the public, which hath been, in the grossest and wickedest manner, imposed upon, with relation to the case of *Bosavern Penlez*, who was executed for the late riot in the Strand.

There is likewise another reason of this reluctance, with which those only who know me well can be certainly acquainted; and that is my own natural disposition. Sure I am, that I greatly deceive myself, if I am not in some little degree partaker of that milk of human kindness which Shakespear speaks of. I was desirous that a man who had suffered the ex-

tremity of the law should be permitted to rest quietly in his grave. I was willing that his punishment should end there; nay, that he should be generally esteemed the object of compassion, and consequently a more dreadful example of one of the best of all our laws.

But when this malefactor is made an object of sedition, when he is transformed into a hero, and the most merciful prince who ever sat on any throne is arraigned of blamable severity, if not of downright cruelty, for suffering justice to take place; and the sufferer, instead of remaining an example to incite terror, is recommended to our honour and admiration; I should then think myself worthy of much censure, if having a full justification in my hands, I permitted it to sleep there, and did not lay it before the public, especially as they are appealed to on this occasion.

Before I enter, however, into the particulars of this man's case, and perform the disagreeable task of raking up the ashes of the dead, though of the meanest degree, to scatter infamy among them, I will premise something concerning the law of riots in general. This I shall do, as well for the justification of the law itself, as for the information of the people, who have been long too ignorant in this respect; and who, if they are now taught a little better to know the law, are taught at the same time to regard it as cruel and oppressive, and as an

innovation on our constitution: for so the statute of George the First, commonly called the Riot Act, hath lately been represented in a public newspaper.

If this doctrine had been first broached in this paper, the ignorance of it would not have been worth remarking; but it is in truth a repetition only of what hath been formerly said by men who must have known better. Whoever remembers the political writings published twenty years ago, must remember that among the articles exhibited against a former administration, this of passing the Riot Act was one of the principal.

Surely these persons mean to insinuate that by this statute riots were erected into a greater crime than they had ever before been esteemed, and that a more severe punishment was enacted for them than had formerly been known among us.

Now the falsehood of this must be abundantly apparent to every one who hath any competent knowledge of our laws. Indeed whoever knows anything of the nature of mankind, or of the history of free countries, must entertain a very indifferent opinion of the wisdom of our ancestors, if he can imagine they had not taken the strongest precautions to guard against so dangerous a political disease, and which hath so often produced the most fatal effects.

Riots are in our law divided into those of a private and into those of a public kind. The former of these are when a number of people (three at the least) assemble themselves in a tumultuous manner, and commit some act of violence amounting to a breach of the peace, where the occasion of the meeting is to redress some grievance, or to revenge some quarrel, of a private nature; such as to remove the inclosures of lands in a particular parish, or unlawfully and forcibly to gain the possession of some tenement, or to revenge some injury done to one or a few persons, or on some other such private dispute, in which the interest of the public is no ways concerned. Such riot is a very high misdemeanour, and to be punished very severely by fine and imprisonment.

Mr. Pulton, speaking of this kind of riot, writes thus: "Riots, routs, unlawful and rebellious assemblies, have been so many times pernicious and fatal enemies to this kingdom, the peace and tranquillity thereof, and have so often shaken the foundation, and put in hazard the very form and state of government of the same, that our law-makers have been enforced to devise from age to age, one law upon another, and one statute after another, for the repressing and punishing of them, and have endeavoured by all their wits to snib the sprouts, and quench the very first sparks of them. As every man may easily perceive there was cause

thereof, who will look back and call to his remembrance what that small riot, begun at Dartmouth, in Kent, in the reign of King Richard the Second, between the collector of a subsidy and a Tyler and his wife, about the payment of one poor groat, did come unto, which being not repressed in time, did grow to so great a rebellion, that after it put in hazard the life of the King, the burning of the City of London, the overthrow of the whole nobility, gentlemen, and all the learned of the land, and the subversion of this goodly monarchy and form of government. Or if they will call to mind the small riot or quarrel begun in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, between a yeoman of the guard and a serving-man of Richard Nevil's, Earl of Warwick, which so far increased for want of restraint, that it was the root of many woeful tragedies, and a mean to bring to untimely death first Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, proclaimed successor to the Crown, and the chief pillar of the House of York, and after him King Henry the Sixth, and Prince Edward his son, the heirs of the House of Lancaster, and to ruinate with the one or the other of them, most of the peers, great men, and gentlemen of the realm, besides many thousands of the common people. And therefore King Edward the First did well ordain, that no sheriffs shall suffer barrators or maintainers of quarrels in their counties.

And that to all parliaments, treaties, and other assemblies, each man shall come peaceably, without any armour; and that every man shall have armour in his house, according to his ability, to keep the peace. And King Edward the Third provided, that no man shall come before the justices, nor go or ride armed. And that suspected, lewd, and riotous persons shall be arrested, and safely kept until they be delivered by the justices of gaol delivery. And that justices of peace shall restrain offenders, rioters, and all other barrators, and pursue, take, and chasten them according to the trespass and offence. King Richard the Second did prohibit riots, routs, and forcible entries into lands, that were made in divers counties and parts of the realm. And that none from thenceforth should make any riot, or rumour. And that no man shall ride armed, nor use lancegayes. And that no labourer, servant in husbandry, or artificer, or victualler, shall wear any buckler, sword, or dagger. And that all the King's officers shall suppress and imprison such as make any riots, routs, or unlawful assemblies against the peace. King Henry the Fourth enacted, that the justices of peace and the sheriff shall arrest those which commit any riot, rout, or unlawful assembly, shall enquire of them, and record their offences. King Henry the Fifth assigned commissioners to enquire of the same justices and sheriffs

defaults in that behalf, and also limited what punishment offenders attainted of riot should sustain. King Henry the Seventh ordained, that such persons as were returned to enquire of riots should have sufficient freehold or copyhold land within the same shire. And that no maintenance should hinder their inquisition. And in the reign of Queen Mary there was a necessary statute established to restrain and punish unlawful and rebellious assemblies raised by a multitude of unruly persons, to commit certain violent, forcible, and riotous acts." [1]

The second kind of riot is of a public kind; as where an indefinite [2] number of persons assemble themselves in a tumultuous manner, in manner of war, arrayed, and commit any open violence with an avowed design of redressing any public grievance; as "to remove certain persons from the King, or to lay violent hands on a privy-councillor, or to revenge themselves against a magistrate for executing his office, or to bring down the price of victuals, or to reform the law or religion, or to pull down all bawdy houses, or to remove all inclosures

[1] Pulton, *De Pace Regis*, 24.

[2] It may be gathered, perhaps, from *Lord Coke* (3 Inst. 176), that the number ought to be above seven or at most thirty-four, for such number is, he says, called an army. And a lesser number cannot, I think, be well said to be *modo guerrino arraiati*.

in general, &c."[1] This riot is high-treason within the words levying war against the king, in the statute of Edward III. For here, says Lord Coke, "the pretence is public and general, and not private in particular."[2] And this, says he, "though there be no great number of the conspirators," is levying war within the purview of the above statute.

In the reign of King Henry VIII. it was resolved by all the judges of England, "that an insurrection against the statute of labourers, for the enhancing of salaries and wages, was a levying of war against the King, because it was generally against the King's law, and the offenders took upon them the reformation thereof, which subjects by gathering of power ought not to do."[3]

In the 20th of Charles II. a special verdict was found at the Old Bailey, that A, B, C, &c., with divers others, to the number of an hundred, assembled themselves in manner of war arrayed to pull down bawdy houses, and that they marched with a flag on a staff, and weapons, and pulled down houses in prosecution of their conspiracies; which by all the judges assembled, except one, was ruled to be high treason.[4]

[1] Hawkins, Pleas of the Crown, lib. i. cap. 17, sect. 25.
[2] 3 Inst. 9.
[3] 3 Inst. 10.
[4] Hale's History of the Pleas of the Crown, vol. i., p. 134.

My Lord Chief-Justice Kelyng, who tried the cause, tells us, in his reports,[1] that he directed the jury, that he "was well satisfied in" his "own judgment, that such assembling together as was proved, and the pulling down of houses upon pretence they were bawdy houses, was high treason, because they took upon them regal power to reform that which belonged to the King by his law and justices to correct and reform; and it would be a strange way and mischievous to all people to have such a rude rabble, without an indictment, to proceed in that manner against all persons' houses which they would call bawdy-houses, for then no man were safe; therefore as that way tore the government out of the King's hands, so it destroyed the great privilege of the people, which is not to be proceeded against, but upon an indictment first found by a grand jury, and after upon a legal trial by another jury, where the party accused was heard to make his defence; yet," says he, "because the Kings of this nation had oftentimes been so merciful as when such outrages had been heretofore done, not to proceed capitally against the offenders but to proceed against the offenders in the star-chamber, being willing to reduce their people by milder ways, if it were possible, to their duty and obedience; yet that lenity of the King in some

[1] Kelyng, 71, 72.

cases did not hinder the King, when he saw there was need to proceed in a severer way, to take that course which was warranted by law, and to make greater examples, that the people may know the law is not wanting so far to the safety of the King and his people, as to let such outrages go without capital punishment, which is at this time absolutely necessary, because we ourselves have seen a rebellion raised by gathering people together upon fairer pretences than this was, for no such persons use at first to declare their wickedest design, but when they see that they may effect their design, then they will not stick to go further, and give the law themselves, and destroy all that oppose them: but yet because there was nobody of the long robe there but my brother Wylde, then Recorder of London, and myself, and that this example might have the greater authority, I did resolve that the jury should find the matter specially, and then I would procure a meeting of all the judges of England, and what was done should be by their opinion, that so this question might have such a resolution as no person afterwards should have reason to doubt the law, and all persons might be warned how they for the time to come mingle themselves with such rabble on any kind of such pretences."

And afterwards, out of six against whom special verdicts were found, four were executed.

In the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth, it was made treason to compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend to levy war against the Queen, &c.

On this statute Richard Bradshaw, a miller, Robert Burton, a mason, and others of Oxfordshire, were indicted and attainted. This case, says Lord Coke, "was that they conspired and agreed to assemble themselves, with so many as they could procure, at Enslowe Hill, in the said county, and there to rise, and from thence to go from gentleman's house to gentleman's house, and to cast down inclosures, as well for enlargement of highways as of arable lands," &c. This was resolved to be a compassing to levy war against the Queen, and to be treason, and the offenders were executed at Enslowe Hill.[1]

The last mentioned case was in the 39th year of Queen Elizabeth: and two years before that several apprentices of London assembled themselves to the number of three hundred and upwards at Bunhill and Tower Hill, in order to deliver some of their fellows out of prison, and threatened to burn my Lord Mayor's house, and to break open two houses near the Tower where arms were lodged. They had with them a trumpet, and a cloak upon a pole was carried as their colours; and being opposed by the sheriff and sword-bearer of London, offered

[1] 3 Inst. 10. 2 And. 66. Popham, 122.

violence to their persons, and for this offence they were indicted of treason, attainted and executed.[1]

Now the reason of the judgment in all these cases was because the offenders had attempted by force and violence to redress grievances of a public nature: for, as Anderson, in his report of the last case, tells us, When any persons intend to levy war for any matter which the King by his law and justice ought or can regulate in his government as King, this shall be intended a levying of war against the King; nor is it material whether they intend any hurt to the person of the King, if their intent be against his office and authority. This is within the statute of the 13 Elizabeth; and, wherever the intent is within that statute, the real levying war is within the statute of Edward III.

I have set down these cases only to shew the light in which these kinds of riots have been always considered by our ancestors, and how severely they have been punished in the most constitutional reigns.

And yet, extensive as this branch of treason on the statute of Edward the Third may seem to have been, it was not held sufficient. For by the 3 and 4 of Edward VI. it was made high treason for twelve persons, or above, being as-

[1] 2 And. 4. Hale's Hist., vol. i., 145. [Both Anderson and Hale say anno "37 Eliz."—Ed.]

sembled together, to attempt to alter any laws, &c., or to continue together above an hour after they are commanded by a justice of peace, mayor, sheriff, &c., to return. And by the same Act it was made felony for twelve persons, or above, to practise to destroy any park, pond, conduit, or dove-house, &c., or to pull down any houses, barns, or mills, or to abate the rates of any lands, or the prices of any victual, &c.

This statute was repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, and then it was enacted[1] that "If any persons to the number of twelve or above, being assembled together, shall intend, go about, practise, or put in use, with force and arms, unlawfully, and of their own authority, to change any laws made for religion by authority of parliament" standing in force, "or any other laws or statutes of this realm, or any of them, the same number of twelve or above, being commanded or required by the sheriff of the shire, or by any justice of peace of the same shire, or by any mayor, sheriff, justices of peace, or bailiffs of any city, borough, or town corporate, where any such assemblies shall be unlawfully had or made, by proclamation in the Queen's name, to retire and repair to their houses, habitations, or places from whence they came, and they or any of them, notwithstanding such proclamation, shall con-

[1] 1 Mary, Stat. 2, Cap. 12.

tinue together by the space of one whole hour after such commandment or request made by proclamation; or after that shall willingly in forcible and riotous manner attempt to do or put in ure any of the things above specified, that then, as well every such abode together, as every such act or offence, shall be adjudged felony—and the offenders therein shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer only execution of death, as in case of felony. And if any persons to the said number of twelve or above, shall go about, &c., to overthrow, cut, cast down, or dig the pales, hedges, ditches, or other inclosure of any park, or other ground inclosed, or the banks of any fish-pond or pool, or any conduits for water, conduit-heads, or conduit-pipes having course of water, to the intent that the same, or any of them, should from thenceforth lie open, or unlawfully to have way or common in the said parks or other grounds inclosed, or to destroy the deer in any manner of park, or any warren of conies, or any dove-houses, or any fish in any fish-pond or pool, or to pull or cut down any houses, barns, mills, or bayes, or to burn any stacks of corn, or to abate or diminish the rents of any lands, or the price of any victual, corn or grain, or any other thing usual for the sustenance of men; and being required or commanded by any justice of peace, &c., by proclamation to be made, &c., to retire to their habitations, &c., and they or any of them

notwithstanding shall remain together by the space of one whole hour after such commandment made by proclamation, or shall in forcible manner put in ure any the things last before mentioned, &c., every of the said offenders shall be judged a felon, &c. And if any person or persons unlawfully, and without authority, by ringing of any bell or bells, sounding of any trumpet, drum, horn, or other instrument, or by firing of any beacon, or by malicious speaking of any words, or making any outcry, or by setting up or casting of any bill or writing, or by any other deed or act, shall raise, or cause to be raised, any persons to the number of twelve or above, to the intent that the same persons should do or put in ure any of the acts above mentioned, and that the persons so raised and assembled, after commandment given in form aforesaid, shall make their abode together as is aforesaid, or in forcible manner put in ure any of the acts abovesaid, that then all and singular persons by whose speaking, deed, act, or other the means above specified, to the number of twelve so raised, shall be adjudged felons. And if the wife, servant, or other persons shall any way relieve them that be unlawfully assembled, as is aforesaid, with victuals, weapons, or other thing, that then they shall be adjudged felons. And if any persons above the number of two, and under the number of twelve, shall practise or put in

ure any of the things above mentioned, and being commanded by a justice of peace, &c., to retire, &c., and they make their abode by the space of one hour together, that then every of them shall suffer imprisonment by the space of one year without bail or mainprise, and every person damnified shall recover his triple damages against him ; and every person able, being requested by the King's officers, shall be bound to resist them. If any persons to the number of forty or above, shall assemble together by forcible manner, unlawfully, and of their own authority, to the intent to put in ure any of the things above specified, or to do other felonies or rebellious act or acts, and so shall continue together by the space of three hours after proclamation shall be made at or nigh the place where they shall be so assembled, or in some market-town thereunto next adjoining, and after notice thereof to them given, then every person so willingly assembled in forcible manner, and so continuing together by the space of three hours, shall be adjudged a felon. And if any copyholder or farmer being required by any of the King's officers having authority, to aid and assist them in repressing any of the said offenders do refuse so to do, he shall forfeit his copyhold or lease, only for term of his life."

Some well-meaning honest Jacobite will perhaps object that this last statute was enacted

in a Popish reign; but he will please to observe, that it is even less severe than that of Edward VI., to which I shall add, that by the first of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 16, this very Act of Queen Mary was continued during the life of Queen Elizabeth, and to the end of the parliament then next following.

Having premised thus much, we will now examine the statute of George I., commonly called the Riot Act; which hath so often been represented either by the most profound ignorance, or the most impudent malice, as unconstitutional, unprecedented, as an oppressive innovation, and dangerous to the liberty of the subject.

By this statute[1] all "persons to the number of twelve or more, being unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled together, to the disturbance of the public peace," and not dispersing themselves within an hour after the proclamation is read to them by a proper magistrate, are made guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

Secondly: The statute gives a power to all magistrates and peace officers, and to all persons who are by such magistrates and peace officers commanded to assist them, to apprehend all such persons so continuing together as above after the proclamation read, and indemnifies the said magistrates and peace offi-

[1] 1 Geo. 1, Stat. 2, Cap. 5.

cers, and all their assistants, if in case of resistance any of the rioters should be hurt, maimed, or killed.

Thirdly: It is enacted, "that if any persons unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled together, to the disturbance of the public peace, shall unlawfully and with force demolish or pull down, or begin to demolish or pull down any church or chapel, or any building for religious worship certified and registered, &c., or any dwelling-house, barn, stable, or other out-house, that then every such demolishing, or pulling down, or beginning to demolish or pull down, shall be adjudged felony without benefit of clergy."

Fourthly: If any persons obstruct the magistrate in reading the proclamation, so that it cannot be read, such obstruction is made felony without clergy; and the continuing together, to the number of twelve, after such let or hindrance of reading the proclamation, incurs the same guilt as if the proclamation had really been read.

These are all the penal clauses in the statute.

I observe then that this law cannot be complained against as an innovation: for as to that part of the statute by which rioters, who continue together for the space of an hour, after they are commanded by the magistrate to disperse, are made guilty of felony without bene-

fit of clergy, what does it more than follow the precedents of those laws which were enacted in the time of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth? And if the law now under our consideration be a little more severe than one of the former acts, it must be allowed to be less severe than the other.

Indeed this power of the magistrates in suppressing all kind of riots hath been found so necessary, that from the second year of Edward III. even down to these days, the legislature hath from time to time more and more increased it. Of such consequence hath this matter appeared, and so frequently hath it been under the consideration of parliament, that I think there are almost twenty statutes concerning it.

And upon the statute of 13 Hen. IV. cap. 7, by which the justices, sheriff, &c., are empowered and ordered to suppress all riots, it hath been holden, that not only the justices, &c., but all who attend them, "may take with them such weapons as shall be necessary to enable them effectually to do it; and that they may justify the beating, wounding, and even the killing of such rioters as shall resist, or refuse to surrender themselves."[1]

As to that branch of the statute by which demolishing, &c., houses, &c., is made felony, the

[1] Popham, 121. 2 Anderson, 67. Hawkins, lib. i., cap. 65, sec. 21, &c.

offence, instead of being aggravated, seems to be lessened, namely, from treason into felony; according to the opinion of Judge Walmsley in Popham's Reports, and of Lord Chief Justice Hale in his Pleas of the Crown.[1]

It is true, as that learned judge observes,[2] the statutes of Edward or Mary did not require (nor doth that of George I. require) that the rioters should be in manner of war arrayed. But how little of this array of war was necessary upon the head of the constructive treason, must have appeared from the cases I have mentioned; in one of which the *insignia belli* were a few aprons carried on staves.[3] In another they had a trumpet, and a cloak carried upon a pole,[4] and in others, as appears, there were no such *insignia* at all.

Again. Upon the indictment of treason any overt act would be sufficient; but here the offence is restrained to such acts as most manifestly threaten, not only the public peace, but the safety of every individual.

How then can this statute be said, in the second place, to be oppressive? Is it not rather the most necessary of all our laws, for the preservation and protection of the people?

The houses of men are in law considered as the castles of their defence; and that in so ample a manner, that no officer of justice is

[1] Popham, 122; Hale, vol. i., 134. [2] Vol. i., 154.
[3] Kelyng, 70. [4] 2 Anderson, 5.

empowered by the authority of any mesne civil process to break them open. Nay, the defence of the house is by the law so far privileged beyond that of the person, that in the former case a man is allowed to assemble a force, which is denied him in the latter; and to kill a man who attacked your house was strictly lawful, whereas some degree of guilt was by the common law incurred by killing him who attacked your person. To burn your house (nay, at this day to set fire to it) is felony without benefit of clergy. To break it open by night, either committing a felony, or with intent to commit it, is burglary. To break it open by day, and steal from it the value of five shillings, or privately to steal from any dwelling-house to the value of forty shillings, is felony without benefit of clergy. Is it then an unreasonable or oppressive law, to prohibit the demolishing or pulling down your house, and that by numbers riotously and tumultuously assembled, under as severe a penalty? Is not breaking open your doors and demolishing your house, a more atrocious crime in those who commit it, and much more injurious to the person against whom it is committed, than the robbing it forcibly of goods to the value of five shillings, or privately to the value of forty? If the law can here be said to be cruel, how much more so is it to inflict death on a man who robs you of a single farthing on the high-

way, or who privately picks your pocket of thirteen pence?

But I dwell, I am afraid, too long on this head. For surely no statute had ever less the marks of oppression; nor is any more consistent with our constitution, or more agreeable to the true spirit of our law.

And where is the danger to liberty which can arise from this statute? Nothing in reality was ever more fallacious or wicked than this suggestion. The public peace, and the safety of the individual, are indeed much secured by this law; but the government itself, if their interest must be or can be considered as distinct from, and indeed in opposition to, that of the people, acquires not by it the least strength or security. And this, I think, must sufficiently appear to every one who considers what I have said above. For surely there is no lawyer who can doubt, even for a single moment, whether any riotous and tumultuous assembly, who shall avow any design directly levelled against the person of the King or any of his councillors, be high-treason or not, whether, as Lord Hale says, the assembly were greater or less, or armed or not armed. And as to the power of the magistrate for suppressing such kinds of riots, and for securing the bodies of the offenders, it was altogether as strong before as it is now.

It seems, therefore, very difficult to see any

evil intention in the makers of this Act, and I believe it will be as difficult to show any ill use that hath been made, or attempted to be made of it. In thirty-four years I remember to have heard of no more than two prosecutions upon it; in neither of which any distinct interest of the government, or rather, as I suppose is meant, of the governors, was at all concerned. And to evince how little any such evil use is to be apprehended at present, I shall here repeat the sentiments of our present excellent Lord Chief Justice,[1] as I myself heard them delivered in the King's Bench, viz., that the branch of the statute which empowers magistrates to read the proclamation for the dispersing rioters was made, as the preamble declares, on very important reasons, and intended to be applied only on very dangerous occasions; and that he should always regard it as a very high crime in any magistrate, wantonly or officiously to attempt to read it on any other.

So much for this law, on which I have dwelt perhaps longer than some may imagine to be necessary; but surely it is a law well worthy of the fullest justification, and is altogether as necessary to be publicly and indeed universally known, at a time when so many wicked arts are employed to infuse riotous principles into the mob, and when they themselves discover

[1] Sir William Lee.—Ed.

so great a forwardness to put these principles in practice.

I will now proceed to the fact of the late riot, and to the case which hath been so totally misrepresented. Both of which I shall give the public from the mouths of the witnesses themselves.

Middlesex, to wit. The information of Nathanael Munns, one of the beadles of the Duchy-liberty of Lancaster.

This informant on his oath saith, that on Saturday, the first day of July last, this informant was summoned to quell a disturbance which was then in the Strand, near the new church, where a large mob was assembled about the house of one Owen, the cause of which, this informant was told, was, that a sailor had been there robbed by a woman. When this informant first came up, the populace were crying out, "Pull down the house, pull down the house!" and were so very outrageous, that all his endeavours, and those of another beadle of the same liberty, to appease them, were vain. This informant, however, attempted to seize one of the ringleaders, but he was immediately rescued from him, and he himself threatened to be knocked down; upon which this informant sent for the constables, and soon after went to his own home. And this informant saith,

that between eleven and twelve the same evening two of the aforesaid rioters, being seized by the constable, were delivered into the custody of this informant, who confined them in the night-prison of the said liberty, which night-prison is under this informant's house.

And this informant farther saith, that on the succeeding night, being Sunday, the second day of July, about twelve at night, a great number of the mob came to this informant's house, and broke open the windows, and entered thereat, seized his servant, and demanded the keys of the prison, threatening to murder her if she did not deliver them; but not being able to procure the same, they wrenched the bars out of the windows, with which, as this informant has been told, and verily believes, they broke open the prison, and rescued the prisoners. And this informant further saith, that he was the same evening at the watch-house of the said liberty, where two other prisoners were confined for the said riot, and saith that a very great mob came to the said watch-house, broke the windows of the same all to pieces, demanding to have the prisoners delivered to them, threatening to pull the watch-house down if the said prisoners were not set at liberty immediately; after which they forced into the said watch-house, and rescued the prisoners. And this informant farther saith, that he apprehends

himself to have been in the most imminent danger of his life, from the stones and brick-bats thrown into the windows of the said watch-house by the said mob, before they forced the same.

Nathanael Munns.

Sworn before me,
Henry Fielding.

Middlesex, to wit. The information of John Carter, one of the constables of the Duchy-liberty of Lancaster.

This informant upon his oath saith, that on Saturday, the first of July, between the hours of seven and eight in the evening, he was present at the house of one Owen, in the Strand, where there were a great mob at that time assembled, which filled up the whole space of the street for near two hundred yards; and saith, that the said house was then broke open, and the mob within it were demolishing and stripping the same; that the windows of the said house were all broke to pieces, and the mob throwing out the goods, which they soon after set fire to, and consumed them in the street; and saith, that he believes there were near two waggon-loads of goods consumed, which caused so violent a flame, that the beams of the houses adjoining were so heated thereby, that the inhabitants were apprehensive of the

utmost danger from the fire, and sent for the parish-engines upon that occasion, which not being immediately to be procured, several firemen attended, by whose assistance, as this informant verily believes, the fire was prevented from doing more mischief. Upon this, this informant, not daring himself to oppose the rage and violence of the mob, and not being able to find any magistrate in town, applied to General Campbell, at Somerset House, for the assistance of the guards there, who presently detached a corporal and twelve men, upon the approach of whom, the word was given by the mob to quit the house, which was immediately done by all except two, whom this informant, by the assistance of the guards, seized upon, and presently conveyed them safe to the night prison of the liberty aforesaid. The mob, however, without doors, rather increased than diminished, and continued in a very riotous and tumultuous manner, insomuch that it was thought necessary to apply for a further guard, and accordingly an officer and a considerable body of men, to the number, as this informant believes, of forty, was detached from the tilt-yard; but the mob, far from being intimidated by this reinforcement, began to attack a second house, namely, the house of one Stanhope, throwing stones, breaking the windows, and pelting not only the sentinels who were posted before the door, but the civil as well as the

military officers. And this informant further saith, that though by the interposition of the soldiers the mob were prevented from doing further mischief that night, yet they continued together till he was relieved by another peace-officer, which was not till twelve at night; nor was the said mob, as this informant has heard, and verily believes, dispersed until between two and three in the morning.

And this informant further saith, that on Sunday, the second of July, being the succeeding day, he was called out of his bed on account of the re-assembling of the mob before the house of Stanhope, which they had attacked the night before. That upon his arrival there, he found a vast mob got together, the house broke open and demolished, and all the goods thereof thrown into the street and set on fire; and saith, that the said fire was larger than that the preceding night. That he was then applied to by Mr. Wilson, woollen-draper, and principal burgess of the said liberty, and one Mr. Acton, another woollen-draper, both of whom expressed the greatest apprehension of danger to the whole neighbourhood, and desired this informant immediately to apply to the tilt-yard for a number of soldiers, which he accordingly did; but being sent by the officer to a magistrate, to obtain his authority for the said guard, before he could obtain the same, Mr. Welch, high-constable of Holborn division,

procured the said guard, by which means the aforesaid rioters were soon after dispersed.

Sworn before me, John Carter.
H. Fielding.

Middlesex, to wit. The information of James Cecil, one of the constables of the parish of St. George the Martyr, in the said county.

This informant upon oath saith, that on the third of July last, he was ordered by Justice Fielding to attend the prisoners to Newgate. That though an officer, with a very large guard of soldiers, attended upon the said occasion, it was not without the utmost difficulty that the said prisoners were conveyed in coaches through the streets, the mob frequently endeavouring to break in upon the soldiers, and crowding towards the coach doors. And saith, that he seized one of the most active of the mob, and carried him before the said justice, who, after having reprimanded, dismissed him. And further this informant saith, that as he passed near the Old Bailey with the aforesaid prisoners, he saw a great mob assembled there, who, as this informant was then acquainted, had been breaking the windows of some house or houses there; and saith, that several of the said mob were in sailors' habits, but upon the approach of the soldiers they all ran away.

James Cecil.

Middlesex, to wit. The information of Saunders Welch, gentleman, high-constable of Holborn division, in the said county.

This informant saith, that on Sunday morning, about ten of the clock, on the second of July last, one Stanhope, who then kept a house in the Strand, near the new church, came to this informant and told him, that a house had been demolished the night before in the Strand by a great mob, and that he had great reason to fear that the said mob would come and demolish his house, they having threatened that they would pull down all bawdy-houses. Upon which this informant directed the said Stanhope to apply to a magistrate, telling him that he, this informant, would conduct himself by the magistrate's directions. Upon which the said Stanhope departed, and returned no more to this informant.

And this informant saith, that as he was returning the same evening between the hours of eleven and twelve, from a friend's house in the City, as he passed through Fleet-street he perceived a great fire in the Strand, upon which he proceeded on till he came to the house of one Peter Wood, who told this informant that the mob had demolished the house of Stanhope, and were burning his goods, and that they had threatened, as soon as they

had finished their business there, that they would come and demolish his house likewise, and prayed the assistance of this informant. Upon which this informant, despairing of being able to quell the mob by his own authority, and well knowing the impossibility of procuring any magistrate at that time who would act, applied to the tilt-yard for a military force, which with much difficulty he obtained, having no order from any justice of peace for the same. And this informant saith, that having at last procured an officer with about forty men, he returned to the place of the riot; but saith, that when he came to Cecil-street end, he prevailed upon the officer to order his drum to beat, in hopes, if possible, of dispersing the mob without any mischief ensuing. And this informant saith, that when he came up to the house of Peter Wood, he found that the mob had in a great part demolished the said house, and thrown a vast quantity of his goods into the street, but had not perfected their design, a large parcel of the goods still remaining in the house, the said house having been very well furnished. And this informant says, that he hath been told there was a debate among the mob concerning burning the goods of that house likewise, as they had served those of two other houses. And this informant says, that had the goods of the said house been set on fire, it must infallibly have set on fire the houses on

both sides, the street being there extremely narrow, and saith, that the house of Messrs. Snow and Denne, the bankers, is almost opposite to that of Peter Wood. And this informant saith, that at his coming up, the mob had deserted the house of the said Peter, occasioned, as he verily believes, and hath been informed, by the terror spread among them from beating the drum as aforesaid, so that this informant found no person in the aforesaid house, save only Peter Wood, his wife, and man-servant, and two or three women who appeared to belong to it, and one Lander, who was taken by a soldier in the upper part of the said house, and who, it afterward appeared at his trial, to the satisfaction of the jury, came along with the guard.

And this informant farther says, that the said rioters not immediately dispersing, several of them were apprehended by the soldiers, who being produced to Peter Wood, were by him charged as principally concerned in the demolition of his house, upon which they were delivered by this informant to a constable of the Duchy-liberty, and were by that constable conveyed, under a guard of soldiers, to New Prison. And this informant farther saith, that he remained on the spot, together with part of the guards, till about three of the clock the next morning, before which time the mob were all dispersed, and peace again restored.

And this informant farther saith, that on the Monday morning, about twelve of the clock, he attended H. Fielding, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, who had been out of town during all the preceding riot, and acquainted him with it. That immediately the said justice sent an order for a party of the guards to conduct the aforesaid prisoners to his house, the streets being at that time full of mob, assembled in a riotous and tumultuous manner, and danger of a rescue being apprehended. And saith, that the above mentioned prisoners, together with Bosavern Penlez, who was apprehended by the watch in Carey-street, were brought before the said justice, who, after hearing the evidence against them, and taking the depositions thereof, committed them to Newgate. And this informant saith, that whilst he attended before the said justice, and while the prisoners were under examination, there was a vast mob assembled, not only in Bow-street, but many of the adjacent streets, so that it was difficult either to pass or repass. And further saith, that he, this informant, received several informations that the mob had declared that, notwithstanding what had been done, they intended to carry on the same work again at night. Upon which, this informant was, by the said justice, dispatched to the Secretary at War, to desire a reinforcement of the guard.

And this informant farther saith, that he was present when the said justice, from his window, spoke to the mob, informed them of their danger, and exhorted them to depart to their own habitations: for which purpose, this informant likewise went among them, and intreated them to disperse, but all such exhortations were ineffectual. And this informant further saith, that he was present at the house of the said justice, when several informations were given, that a body of sailors, to the number of four thousand, were assembling themselves at Tower-Hill, and had declared a resolution of marching to Temple-Bar in the evening. And so riotous did the disposition of the mob appear that whole day, to wit, Monday, that numbers of persons, as this informant hath been told, removed their goods from their own houses, from apprehensions of sharing the fate of Owen, Stanhope, and Wood. To obviate which danger, the aforesaid justice, the officer of the guard and this informant, sat up the whole night, while a large party of soldiers were kept ready under arms, who with the peace-officers patrolled the streets where the chief danger was apprehended; by means of all which care the public peace was again restored.

Saunders Welch.

Sworn before me,
Henry Fielding.

Middlesex, to wit. The information of Samuel Marsh, Edward Fritter, Robert Oliver, and John Hoare.

Samuel Marsh, of St. Clement Danes, in the said county, labourer, one of the watchmen of St. Dunstan's in the West, in the City of London, maketh oath, that on the third of July last, as he was going his rounds, a little after one in the morning, one Mr. Philip Warwick, an engraver by trade, who then lived at Pimlico, near Buckingham-House, from whence he is since removed, came to this informant in Bell-yard, opposite the Apollo-passage, and said, there was a man above who had a great bundle of linen, which he (Warwick) thought the said man had stolen, and desired this informant to take care of him. And farther acquainted this informant, that the said man told him that the linen which he then had in the bundle was his wife's, which said Warwick did not believe to be true. And this informant farther saith, that when he had received this account, he went directly to the place where the said man was; and saith, that the said man, before this informant came up to him, had thrust most of the abovesaid linen into his bosom and pockets; and saith, that just as this informant came up to him, and called out to him, saying, "Friend, here, come and take the cap you have dropped," the said man scrambled up the rest of the

things, and ran away as fast as he could all up Bell-yard; upon which this informant ran after him, and called to Edward Fritter, another watchman, to stop him. And this informant farther saith, that the said man, being afterwards taken by Fritter, and in custody of him and this informant, being asked by them to whom the said linen belonged, declared that they belonged to the b—— his wife, who had pawned all his clothes; and that he had taken away these that she might not pawn them likewise. To which this informant answered, that answer would not do; for that he was resolved to have a better answer before he left him. And this informant saith, that he and the said Fritter then carried the said man to the watch-house, where he sat down on a bench. And this informant saith, that whilst the said man sat there, several persons came into the watch-house unknown to this informant, one of whom said to the prisoner, "You son of a b——, pull the things out of your bosom and out of your pockets, and don't let the constable find them upon you, unless you have a mind to hang yourself." Upon which the prisoner pulled out the linen from his bosom and his pocket, and laid it upon the bench; and saith that the said linen was afterwards delivered to Mr. Hoare, the constable. And further saith, that the aforesaid man, who was apprehended as abovesaid, was the same Bosavern Penlez, who was after-

wards convicted of the riot at the Old Bailey, and executed for the same. And further saith, that he believes the said Penlez was then a little in liquor, but by no means dead drunk; for that he talked and behaved very rationally all the time he was in the said watch-house. And further saith, that Penlez, when he was in the watch-house, said, that the woman to whom the linen belonged was not his wife; for that he was an unfortunate young fellow, and had kept company with bad women, and that he had been robbed by one of them of fifteen shillings, and had taken away her linen out of revenge.

Edward Fritter, of the precinct of Whitefriars, in the City of London, shoemaker, one of the watchmen of the Liberty of the Rolls, maketh oath, that upon the third of July last, a little after one in the morning, as he was at his stand at the upper end of Bell-yard, Samuel Marsh, another watchman, called out to him, "Stop that man before you: stop that man before you." And this informant saith, that when he heard these words, the said man had just passed by him, making off as fast as he could; upon which this informant ran after him, and at about an hundred yards' distance overtook him, and pushed him up against the rails in Carey-street. And this informant then said to him, "So, brother, what is all this you have got here?" To which the man answered, "I

am an unfortunate young man, and have married one of the women of the town, who hath pawned all my clothes, and I have got all her linen for it." And this informant saith, that the said man had at that time some linen under his arm. Soon after which, the said man, who, as this informant saith, was Bosavern Penlez, was carried to the watch-house, where this informant was present when all passed that informant Marsh hath sworn. And this informant hearing the information of Marsh read, declares that all which is there related to have passed is true.

Robert Oliver, of the Liberty of the Rolls, shoemaker, and beadle of that liberty, maketh oath and saith, That he was present when Bosavern Penlez was brought into the watch-house belonging to the said liberty, on the third of July last, between one and two in the morning; and saith, that he was present in the said watch-house upon his duty all the time that the said Penlez stayed there; and upon hearing the information of Marsh read to him, this informant, he, this informant, upon his oath confirms the same in every particular.

John Hoare, of the Liberty of the Rolls aforesaid, victualler, then one of the constables of the Liberty of the Rolls, maketh oath and saith, that at two in the morning, on the third of July, he was called by one of the watchmen of that liberty, and informed that a thief was appre-

hended and confined in the watch-house; upon which this informant went directly thither, and found Bosavern Penlez and the linen lying on the bench, as mentioned in Marsh's information. And this informant farther saith, that he then examined said Penlez how he came by that linen, to which the said Penlez answered, that he had taken up the said linen in the street, to which this informant answered, that if he (Penlez) could give no better account, he must secure him till the morning. Then this informant asked him, if he could send to any one who would give him a character. Upon which Penlez, after some hesitation, mentioned the name of a barber who lived next to the "Bunch of Grapes" in the Strand, who was sent to, and refused to come. And this informant saith, that he then proposed to Penlez to send for some other person; but that the said Penlez mentioned no other person. Upon which this informant carried the said Penlez to New-Prison, and there delivered him into custody. And this informant further saith, that he attended the next day before H. Fielding, Esq.; one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said county, when the said Penlez was examined, and the aforesaid linen was produced by this informant. To wit; ten laced caps, four laced handkerchiefs, three pair of laced ruffles, two laced clouts, five plain handkerchiefs, five plain aprons, and one laced apron;

all which the wife of Peter Wood swore to be her property. And this informant saith, that Penlez being asked by the justice, how he came by the said linen, answered, he had found them; and could not, or would not, give any other account.

The mark of Sam. Marsh.
Ed. Fritter.
Rob. Oliver.
John Hoare.

Sworn before me,
H. Fielding.

Middlesex,
to wit.

Robert Oliver aforesaid further on his oath says, that when Penlez was examined before the justice, he solemnly denied that he was in the house of Peter Wood, or near it.

Rob. Oliver.

Sworn before me,
H. Fielding.

Now upon the whole of this evidence, which I have taken the pains to lay before the public, and which is the evidence of persons entirely disinterested and of undoubted credit, I think it must be granted by every impartial and sensible person:—

1. That the riot here under consideration was of a very high and dangerous nature, and

far from deserving those light or ludicrous colours which have been cast upon it.

2. That the outrages actually committed by the mob, by demolishing the houses of several people, by cruelly and barbarously misusing their persons, by openly and audaciously burning their goods, by breaking open prisons and rescuing offenders, and by resisting the peace-officers, and those who came to their assistance, were such as no government could justify passing over without some censure and example.

3. That had not Mr. Welch (one of the best officers who was ever concerned in the execution of justice, and to whose care, integrity, and bravery the public hath, to my knowledge, the highest obligations) been greatly active in the discharge of his duty; and had he not arrived time enough to prevent the burning of that pile of goods which was heaped up before Wood's house, the most dreadful consequences must have ensued from this riot. For not to mention the mischiefs which must necessarily have happened from the fire in that narrow part of the town, what must have been the consequence of exposing a banker's shop to the greediness of the rabble? Or what might we have reasonably apprehended from a mob encouraged by such a booty, and made desperate by such atrocious guilt?

4. I think it may very fairly be inferred, that

the mob, which had already carried on their riotous proceedings during two successive nights, and who, during whole day on Monday, were in motion all over the town, had they not been alarmed and intimidated by the care of the magistrate, would have again repeated their outrage, as they had threatened on Monday night. And had such a riot continued a little longer, no man can, I think, foresee what it might have produced. The cry against bawdy-houses might have been easily converted into an out-cry of a very different nature, and goldsmiths might have been considered to be as great a nuisance to the public as whores.

5. The only remaining conclusion which I shall draw, is, that nothing can be more unjust, or indeed more absurd, than the complaint of severity which hath been made on this occasion. If one could derive this silly clamour from malevolence to the government, it might be easily converted into the most delicate of compliments. For surely those must afford very little cause of complaint, whose enemies can find no better object of their censure than this. To say the truth, the government is here injudiciously attacked in its most defensible part. If it be necessary, as some seem to think, to find fault with their superiors, our administration is more liable to the very opposite censure. If I durst presume to look into the royal breast, I might with certainty affirm, that

mercy is there the characteristic. So truly is this benign prince the father of his people, that he is never brought, without paternal reluctance, to suffer the extremity of justice to take place. A most amiable excess, and yet an excess by which, I am afraid, subjects may be as liable to be spoiled as children.

But I am willing to see these clamours in a less culpable light, and to derive them from a much better motive: I mean from a zeal against lewd and disorderly houses. But zeal in this case, as well as in all others, may hurry men too far, and may plunge them headlong into the greater evils, in order to redress the lesser.

And surely this appears to be the case at present, when an animosity against these houses hath made men blind to the clearest light of evidence; and impelled them to fly in the face of truth, of common sense, I might say yet more, and all in the behalf of a licentious, outrageous mob, who, in open defiance of law, justice, or mercy, committed the most notorious offences against the persons and properties of their fellow-subjects, and who had undoubtedly incurred the last and highest degree of guilt, had they not been happily and timely prevented.

When I mention this zeal as some kind of excuse or mitigation, I would be understood to apply it only to those persons who have been so weak (at least) to espouse the cause of these

malefactors. As to the rioters themselves, I am satisfied they had no such excuse. The clamour against bawdy-houses was in them a bare pretence only. Wantonness and cruelty were the motives of most; and some, as it plainly appeared, converted the inhuman disposition of the mob to the very worst of purposes, and became thieves under the pretence of reformation.

How then is it possible for any man in his senses to express a compassion for such offenders, as for men, who, while they are doing an illegal act, may yet be supposed to act from a laudable motive? I would ask such men this question. By whom are these houses frequented and supported? Is it not by the young, the idle, and the dissolute?—This is, I hope, true; no grave zealot will, I am convinced, assert the contrary. Are these then the people to redress the evil? Play-houses have been in a former age reputed a grievance; but did the players rise in a body to demolish them? Gaming-houses are still thought a nuisance; but no man, I believe, hath ever seen a body of gamesters assembled to break them open, and burn their goods. It is indeed possible, that after a bad run of luck they might be very well pleased with an opportunity of stealing them.

The nuisance which bawdy-houses are to the public, and how far it is interested in sup-

pressing them, is not our present consideration. The law clearly considers them as a nuisance, and hath appointed a remedy against them; and this remedy it is in the power of every man, who desires it, to apply. But surely it will not be wished by any sober man, that open illegal force and violence should be with impunity used to remove this nuisance; and that the mob should have an uncontrolled jurisdiction in this case. When, by our excellent constitution, the greatest subject, no, not even the King himself, can, without a lawful trial and conviction, divest the meanest man of his property, deprive him of his liberty, or attack him in his person; shall we suffer a licentious rabble to be accuser, judge, jury, and executioner; to inflict corporal punishment, break open men's doors, plunder their houses, and burn their goods? I am ashamed to proceed further in a case so plain, where the absurdity is so monstrous, and where the consequences are so obvious and terrible.

As to the case of the sufferer, I shall make no remarks. Whatever was the man's guilt, he hath made all the atonement which the law requires, or could be exacted of him; and though the popular clamour made it necessary to publish the above depositions, nothing shall come from me to add to, or to aggravate them.

If, after perusing the evidence which I have here produced, there should remain any private

compassion in the breast of the reader, far be it from me to endeavour to remove it. I hope I have said enough to prove that this was such a riot as called for some example, and that the man who was made that example deserved his fate. Which, if he did, I think it would follow, that more hath been said[1] and done in his favour than ought to have been; and that the clamour of severity against the government hath been in the highest degree unjustifiable.

To say truth (as I have before hinted) it would be more difficult to justify the lenity used on this occasion. The first and second day of this riot, no magistrate, nor any other higher peace officer than a petty constable (save only Mr. Welch) interfered with it. On the third day, only one magistrate took upon him to act. When the prisoners were committed to Newgate, no public prosecution was for some time ordered against them; and when it was ordered, it was carried on so mildly, that one of the prisoners (Wilson) being sick in prison, was (though contrary to law) at the desire of a noble person in great power, bailed out, when a capital indictment was then found against him. At the trial, neither the attorney- nor solicitor-general, nor even one of the King's counsel appeared against the prisoners. Lastly,

[1] He was buried by a private subscription, but not at the public expense of the parish of St. Clement Danes, as hath been falsely asserted.

when two were convicted, one only was executed; and I doubt very much whether even he would have suffered, had it not appeared that a capital indictment[1] for burglary was likewise found by the grand jury against him, and upon such evidence as I think every impartial man must allow would have convicted him (had he been tried) of felony at least.

Thus I have finished this ungrateful task, which I thought it the more incumbent on me to undertake, as the real truth of this case, from the circumstance mentioned at the bottom of this page, was known only to myself, and a very few more. This I thought it my duty to lay before some very noble persons, in order to make some distinction between the two condemned prisoners, in favour of Wilson, whose case to me seemed to be the object of true compassion. And I flatter myself that it might be a little owing to my representation, that the distinction between an object of mercy and an object of justice at last prevailed, to my satisfaction, I own entirely, and I hope, now at last, to that of the public.

[1] Upon this indictment he was arraigned, but the judge said, as he was already capitally convicted for the same fact, though of a different offence, there was no occasion of trying him again: by which means the evidence which I have above produced, and which the prosecutor reserved to give on this indictment, was never heard at the Old Bailey, nor in the least known to the public.

A PROPOSAL FOR MAKING AN EFFECTUAL PROVISION FOR THE POOR, FOR AMENDING THEIR MORALS, AND FOR RENDERING THEM USEFUL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY,

TO WHICH IS ADDED A PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS PROPOSED, WITH PROPER ELEVATIONS. DRAWN BY AN EMINENT HAND.

By HENRY FIELDING, ESQ.,
Barrister-at-Law, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.

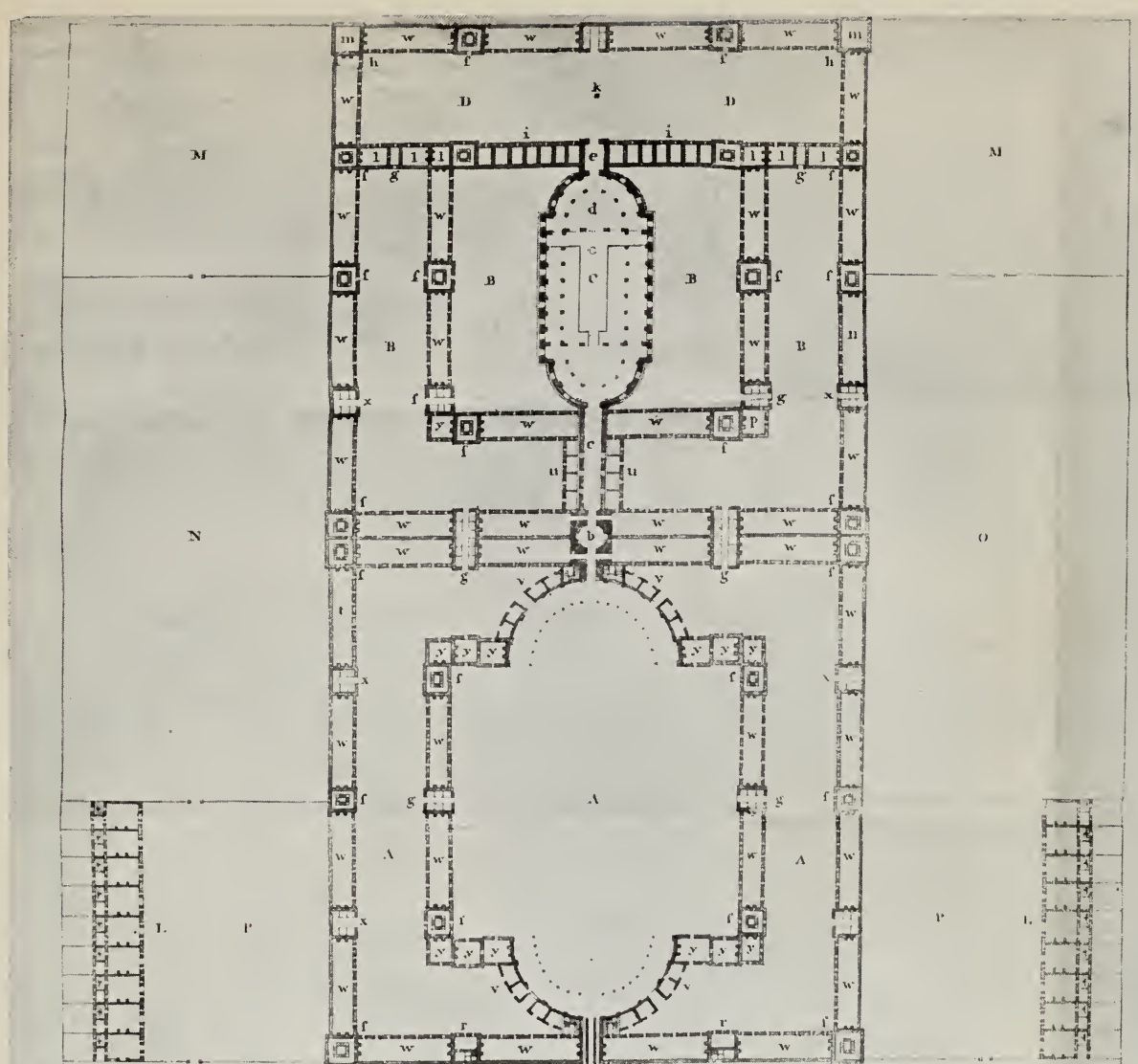
Ista sententia maximè et fallit imperitos, et obest sæpissime Reipublicæ, cùm aliquid verum et rectum esse dicitur, sed obtineri, id est obsisti posse populo, negatur.

Cicero, De Legibus, lib. iii.

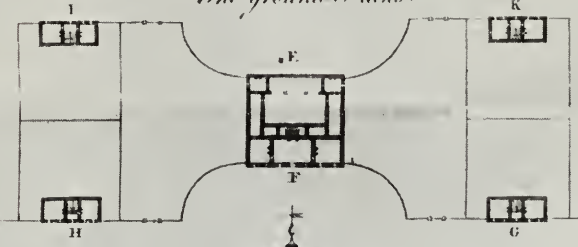
EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.

A Men's courts, containing 3,000 persons.
B Women's courts, containing 2,000 persons.
C Chapel.
D Prison court, containing 1,000 persons.
E Justice hall.
F Governor's house.
G Deputy Governor's house.
H Chaplains' house.
I Treasurer's house.
K Receiver's house.
L Sutleries.
M Burying grounds.
N Women's airing ground.
O Men's airing ground.
P Sutlery ground.
Q Front Grounds.
R Elevation of the Governor's house.
S Front of the Deputy Governor's house
T Front of the Chaplain's house.

a Principal gate.
b Place of the steeple.
c Men's way to the chapel.
d Prisoner's chapel.
e Prisoner's way to their chapel.
g Gates.
h Prisons, or fasting rooms.
i Cells.
k Whipping post.
l Keeper's houses.
m Lodges for the assistants.
n Women's infirmary.
p Matron's house.
r Officers' houses.
s Stairs.
t Men's infirmary.
u, *v* Privies.
w Workrooms, above which are the lodging-wards, 160 in number.
x Lodges for the watchmen and assistants.
y Storehouses.



The ground Plans.



Elevation of the Principal Front.

Part of the Section within the Courts.

A Scale for the Plan.

A Scale for the Elevations.

Chr.ᵗ Gibson Arch.ᵗ

J. Myatt Sculp.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY PELHAM,

Chancellor of His Majesty's Exchequer.

Sir,

In addressing to you the following sheets, I only embrace an opportunity of expressing the deep sense I have of the obligations you have conferred on me. For it would be unreasonable to expect that one in your station should find sufficient leisure to weigh and consider duly the subject here treated of. While your attention is so much engaged in matters of higher moment, it would seem hard that no other should be willing to undertake this inferior province of government, or should indeed be equal to it; but that one man should be obliged to support the whole.

And yet, if ever there was a time when a minister of state might find such leisure, I think it may be the present. It is true, indeed, that when a skilful governor of a ship hath brought his vessel through rocks, quicksands, and storms, to ride safely before the wind, he hath a right to enjoy that safety which he hath procured, and to indulge his own ease; and

yet even then, if he is informed that his vessel is leaky, or some of the minutest tackling in disorder, should not he give some attention to those inferior matters which others neglect, which retard the vessel in her course, and may, perhaps, however slowly, at last produce her destruction?

There is perhaps, sir, something above the style of prose in this allusion, but there is nothing in it beyond that of truth.

To return, however, to the plainest style: I here present you with that plan which I had the honour once to mention to you, and of which I have given a former hint, to the public. If this be carried into execution it will in its consequence, I am convinced, remove almost every evil from the society of which honest men at present complain—will complete the obligations which posterity shall owe to the present age—and will heap praises on that name which shall be then as much loved and honoured by mankind as it is now by,

"Sir,

"Your most obliged,

"Most humble,

"And most obedient servant,

"Henry Fielding.

"Jan. 19, 1753."

A PROPOSAL FOR MAKING AN EFFECTUAL PROVISION FOR THE POOR, ETC.

INTRODUCTION

That the strength and riches of a society consist in the numbers of the people is an assertion which hath obtained the force of an axiom in politics. This, however, supposes the society to be so constituted that those numbers may contribute to the good of the whole: for, could the contrary be imagined—could we figure to ourselves a state in which a great part of the people, instead of contributing to the good of the public, should lie as a useless and heavy burden on the rest of their countrymen—the very reverse of the above maxim would be true; and the numbers of such a people would be so far from giving any strength to the society, that they would weaken and oppress it; so that it would, in a merely civil sense, be the interest of such a society to lessen its numbers, and by some means or other to shake or lop off the useless and burdensome part.

"Numbers of men," says Mr. Locke, "are

to be preferred to largeness of dominions;" and the reason, as he well observes, is, for that labour "puts the difference of value on every thing." "Let anyone consider," says he, "what the difference is between an acre of land, planted with tobacco, or sugar, sown with wheat or barley, and an acre of the same land lying in common, without any husbandry upon it; and he will find that the improvement of labour makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest computation to say that of the products of the earth, useful to the life of man, nine-tenths are the effects of labour: nay, if we will rightly estimate things, as they come to our use, and cast up the several expenses about them—what in them is purely owing to nature, and what to labour—we shall find that in most of them ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of labour." In this alone, as he demonstrates, lies the difference between us and the Americans, who are furnished by nature as liberally as ourselves with all the materials of plenty, yet "have not one-hundredth part of the conveniences we enjoy; and" among whom "a king of a large and fruitful territory . . . feeds, lodges, and is clad worse than a day-labourer in England."[1]

[1] Essay of Civil Government, Chap. V., Sec. 40-42. Works, Vol. II., pp. 184-5 [Edit. 1740].

It is not barely therefore in the numbers of people, but in numbers of people well and properly disposed, that we can truly place the strength and riches of a society.

From the universality of the maxim which I have mentioned—qualified, I mean, as above—it seems to follow that a state is capable of this perfection, and that some states have actually been so constituted. Of this kind particularly seems to me the Egyptian policy of old, and that of Holland in modern times. I do not mean to say that any human society is so absolutely capable of this perfection, that every individual shall contribute some share to the strength of the whole. Nature hath denied us this by laying certain individuals in every society under a natural incapacity not only of administering to the good of others, but even of providing for and protecting themselves. Such are the incapacities of infancy and of old age, and of impotency either of mind or body, natural or accidental.

Of all these policy, perhaps, would dictate to us only to preserve the first; and accordingly we read of nations among whom those members who were either by age, or any incurable infirmity, rendered useless and burdensome to the public, were without mercy cut off by their laws. But this neither religion nor humanity will allow; and therefore to this burden, which is imposed on us by God and nature,

we must submit; nor will the evil, while confined to such absolute incapacity, be very grievous or much to be lamented.

From what I have here advanced it seems, I think, apparent that, among a civilized people, that polity is the best established in which all the members, except such only as labour under any utter incapacity, are obliged to contribute a share to the strength and wealth of the public. Secondly, That a state is capable of this degree of perfection; and, consequently, that to effect this is the business of every wise and good legislature.

And this seems to have been the great aim of the first founders of the English constitution; by the laws of which no man whatsoever is exempted from performing such duties to the public as befit his rank; according to the observation of that most wonderful young prince, *Quem tantum terris fata ostenderunt.* As "there is no part," says he, "admitted in the body that doth not work and take pains, so ought there no part of the commonwealth to be, but laboursome in his vocation. The gentleman ought to labour in service in his country; the servingman ought to wait diligently on his master; the artificer ought to labour in his work; the husbandman in tilling the ground; the merchant in passing the tempests; but the vagabonds ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous humour of the body, that is to say,

the spittle and filth; which, because it is for no use, it is put out by the strength of nature."[1] Thus far this incomparable young prince, as the excellent historian of the Reformation calls him; who was, says the bishop, the wonder of his time, and indeed will be so of all succeeding ages.

To divide the same kind of labours equally among all the members of society is so far from being necessary that it is not even convenient; nor could it indeed be possible in any state without such a perfect equality in all its branches as is inconsistent with all government, and which befits only that which is sometimes called the state of nature, but may more properly be called a state of barbarism and wildness.

Those duties, however, which fall to the higher ranks of men, even in this commonwealth, are by no means of the highest or easiest kind. The watchings and fatigues, the anxieties and cares which attend the highest stations, render their possessors in real truth no proper objects of envy to those in the lowest, whose labours are much less likely to impair the health of their bodies, or to destroy the peace of their minds; are not less consist-

[1] King Edward's Remains, preserved at the end of the 2nd Vol. of Bishop Burnet's "History of the Reformation," page 70. [Vol. V., p. 98, in the Oxford edition of 1865.]

ent with their happiness, and much more consistent with their safety.

It is true, indeed, that in every society where property is established and secured by law there will be some among the rich whose indolence is superior to the love of wealth and honour, and who will therefore avoid these public duties for which avarice and ambition will always furnish out a sufficient number of candidates; yet, however idle the lives of such may be, it must be observed, first, that they are by no means burdensome to the public, but do support themselves on what the law calls their own; a property acquired by the labour of their ancestors, and often the rewards, or fruits at least, of public services. Secondly, that whilst they dispose what is their own for the purposes of idleness (and more especially perhaps, if for the purposes of luxury) they may be well called useful members of trading commonwealths, and truly said to contribute to the good of the public.

But with the poor (and such must be in any nation where property is—that is to say, where there are any rich) this is not the case. For having nothing but their labour to bestow on the society, if they withhold this from it they become useless members; and having nothing but their labour to procure a support for themselves they must of necessity become burdensome.

On this labour the public hath a right to insist; since this is the only service which the poor can do that society, which in some way or other hath a right to the service of all its members; and as this is the only means by which they can avoid laying that burden on the public which in case of absolute incapacity alone it is obliged to support.

Here then seems to arise a twofold duty to the legislature; first, to procure to such the means of labour, and, secondly, to compel them to undertake it. The former, indeed, naturally precedes the latter, and is presupposed by it: for if the means of employing them be not to be found the ablest hands will be in the same condition with the weakest, and will alike become a necessary burden on the community; which is so far from being at liberty to punish a man for involuntary idleness, that it is obliged to support him under it.

Both these, therefore, are the proper business of every legislature, and both for above a hundred years together have been very much the business of ours. If they have succeeded I am sure I shall egregiously throw away my time in composing the following sheets; in which, however, I shall have the consolation of much good company to keep me in countenance. To say truth, if the errors in our present provisions are not very great and fatal, or if the remedies proposed do not seem perfectly

adequate to the removal of them, I would by no means advise any great alteration: for, as the Greek historian[1] observes of laws in general, "that city which is governed by the worse laws, but those firm and stable, is in a safer condition than the city where the laws are better and more eligible in their original institution, but where they are administered in a loose and fluctuating manner."

Which fluctuation in our own laws hath been, I find, an old complaint in this kingdom. Holinshed tells us long ago, that our great number of laws was said to "breed a general negligence and contempt of all good order; because we have so many," says he, "that no subject can live without the transgression of some of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doeth much harm in this respect."[2]

But if there was any occasion of this complaint in his time, I am sure there is much more now; for, as to our statutes, they are increased much more than tenfold since the reign of Henry the Eighth; with such variety of alterations, explanations, and amendments, that in many cases no good lawyer will pretend readily to say what the law at present is. Even in Queen Anne's time there was a cause determined in the Queen's Bench expressly

[1] Thucydides.

[2] "Description of Britain," chap. 18.

against the letter of an Act of Parliament; which, as Carthew, who reports it, tells us, was not once mentioned either at the bar or on the bench; the reason of which must have been because it was unknown.

Nor is there any walk in all this wilderness of laws more intersected or more perplexed with mazes and confusion, than this which leads to the provision for the poor; and hence it is that through no other way a more plentiful harvest hath of late years been brought into Westminster Hall.

Sensible as I am of this mischief I should not venture to propose any further experiments, if I was not also sensible that the disease is become absolutely intolerable; and had not at the same time very sanguine hopes that the remedy which I shall propose will prove in the highest degree effectual.

That the poor are a very great burden, and even a nuisance to this kingdom; that the laws for relieving their distresses, and restraining their vices, have not answered those purposes; and that they are at present very ill provided for, and much worse governed, are truths which every man, I believe, will acknowledge. Such have been the unanimous complaints of all the writers who have considered this matter down from the days of Queen Elizabeth; such is apparently the sense of our present legislature; and such is the universal voice of the nation.

The facts must be very glaring that can produce this unanimous concurrence in opinion; and so in truth they are. Every man who hath any property must feel the weight of that tax which is levied for the use of the poor; and every man who hath any understanding must see how absurdly it is applied. So very useless indeed is this heavy tax, and so wretched its disposition, that it is a question whether the poor or the rich are actually more dissatisfied, or have indeed greater reason to be dissatisfied; since the plunder of the one serves so little to the real advantage of the other: for while a million yearly is raised among the former many of the latter are starved; many more languish in want and misery; of the rest numbers are found begging or pilfering in the streets to-day, and to-morrow are locked up in gaols and bridewells.

Of all these deplorable evils we have constant evidence before our eyes. The sufferings of the poor are, indeed, less observed than their misdeeds; not from any want of compassion, but because they are less known; and this is the true reason why we so often hear them mentioned with abhorrence, and so seldom with pity. But if we were to make a progress through the outskirts of this town, and look into the habitations of the poor, we should there behold such pictures of human misery as must move the compassion of every

heart that deserves the name of human. What, indeed, must be his composition who could see whole families in want of every necessary of life, oppressed with hunger, cold, nakedness, and filth; and with diseases, the certain consequences of all these—what, I say, must be his composition who could look into such a scene as this, and be affected only in his nostrils?[1]

That such wretchedness as this is so little lamented, arises therefore from its being so little known; but, if this be the case with the sufferings of the poor, it is not so with their misdeeds. They starve, and freeze, and rot among themselves; but they beg, and steal, and rob among their betters. There is not a parish in the Liberty of Westminster which doth not raise thousands annually for the poor, and there is not a street in that Liberty which doth not swarm all day with beggars, and all night with thieves. Stop your coach at what shop you will, however expeditious the tradesman is to attend you, a beggar is commonly beforehand with him; and if you should not directly face his door the tradesman must often turn his head while you are talking to him, or the same beggar, or some other thief at hand, will pay a visit to his shop! I omit to speak

[1] Some Members of Parliament actually made this progress in company with Mr. Welch, and owned the truth exceeded their imagination.

of the more open and violent insults which are every day committed on His Majesty's subjects in the streets and highways. They are enough known and enough spoken of. The depredations on property are less noticed, particularly those in the parishes within ten miles of London. To these every man is not obnoxious, and therefore it is not every man's business to suppress them. These are, however, grown to the most deplorable height; insomuch that the gentleman is daily, or rather nightly, plundered of his pleasure, and the farmer of his livelihood.

But though some of these articles are more universally notorious than others, they are in general enough known to raise an universal indignation at a very heavy tax levied for the use of those who are no less a nuisance than a burden to the public; and by which, as woeful experience hath taught us, neither the poor themselves nor the public are relieved.

With regard to the evil men will agree almost unanimously, but with regard to the remedy I shall expect no such general concurrence: nay the more deplorable and desperate the case is, the more backward may we presume men will be to allow the possibility of any cure, or the efficacy of any remedy for that purpose.

It may very reasonably be presumed that so national and atrocious a grievance, and which it is the interest of all men of great property

to redress, would not have subsisted so long had it been capable of being redressed. And this presumption may very fairly be confirmed by the many endeavours which our Parliament have used, and the indefatigable pains they have taken in this matter.

If, after all these endeavours, the evil should not be removed or even abated—on the contrary, if it should be even increased—surely no man can be blamed who shall conclude it to be irremediable, and shall compare it to some inveterate defect in our animal constitution; to which, however grievous, an honest physician will advise us to submit, there being no cure for it in the art of physic.

This is indeed so rational, and at the same time so decent a conclusion, that, far from blaming it, I am almost overborne with it. I am almost deterred from prosecuting the attempt any farther, and in some degree conscious of the immodesty of my undertaking. For though some few, of tempers perhaps equally sanguine with those who still hope to see the longitude discovered, may not despair of seeing this great evil one day redressed; how little can a man as I am, without authority, hope to gain even their attention on this subject!

Let it be remembered however in my favour, that some of the noblest and most useful discoveries have been made by men of little note

or authority in the world; for which perhaps a handsomer reason than the bare intervention of chance might be assigned. Men of the greatest abilities are not always the forwardest to push themselves into the public notice. If eminent fortune, or eminent friends, do not throw open to us the first gates which lead to fame and greatness; a thousand mean tricks and arts must be submitted to to procure us an admittance. These are easily known, and as easily practised, by persons of small parts and much cunning; while they are overlooked and despised by real genius, which is generally attended by a sullen pride that, disdaining to seek after the world, expects to be sought out by it. Such are the men who, as Horace expresses it, deceive mankind, and pass through the world without being known by it. A temper of mind which may be as happy for the possessor as Horace and Epicurus seem to think it, but which, very unhappily for the public, is bestowed by nature on the wrong persons.

But there is a second reason less refined, and consequently more obvious; this is the force of a long and constant application to any one subject. Very moderate parts, with this assistance, will carry us a great way—indeed may in time perform wonders; and to this I can, with great truth, and, I hope, with equal modesty, assert the strongest pretensions; having read over and considered all the laws,

in any wise relating to the poor, with the utmost care and attention; and having been many years very particularly concerned in the execution of them. To these I have likewise added a careful perusal of everything which I could find that hath been written on this subject, from the original institution in the 43rd of Elizabeth to this day; and upon the whole it appears to me that there are great defects in these laws, and that they are capable of being amended.

Whether I have discovered what these defects are, and have been yet farther so fortunate as to find out the method of removing them, I now submit to the public, after this preface and this short apology for an undertaking which I allow to be of very great difficulty; and to which I shall, of consequence, neither be surprised nor offended if I am thought unequal. The attempt, indeed, is such that the want of success can scarce be called a disappointment, though I shall have lost much time and misemployed much pains; and, what is above all, shall miss the pleasure of thinking that, in the decline of my health and life, I have conferred a great and lasting benefit on my country.

PROPOSALS FOR ERECTING A COUNTY WORK-HOUSE, ETC.

County-house, and County House of Correction to be erected.

Par. I. That there shall be erected, for the county of Middlesex, at some convenient place within the said county, a large building, consisting of three several courts, according to the annexed plan. The two outermost of the said courts to be called the county-house, and the innermost court to be called the county house of correction; with a chapel and offices, according to the said plan.

What poor they shall contain.

II. That the said county-house shall be large enough to contain five thousand persons and upwards; and the said county house of correction large enough to contain six hundred persons and upwards.

Men and women to be kept separate.

III. That both the said houses shall be so contrived, that the men and women may be kept entirely separate from each other.

Of what buildings the county-house is to consist.

IV. That the said county-house shall consist, 1. Of lodgings for the officers. 2. Of

Note, the arguments in support of these proposals are printed at the end of them, to which the reader is desired to refer as he proceeds.

lodging-rooms for the labourers. 3. Of working-rooms for the same. 4. Of an infirmary. 5. Of a chapel. 6. Of several large store-rooms, with cellarage.

Of what the county house of correction.

V. That the said county house of correction shall consist, 1. Of lodgings for the officers. 2. Of lodging-rooms for the prisoners. 3. Of working-rooms for the same. 4. Of an infirmary. 5. Of a fasting-room. 6. Of several cells or dungeons. 7. Of a large room with iron grates which shall be contiguous to and look into the end of the chapel.

Additional buildings.

VI. There shall be likewise built one house for the Governor, one for the Deputy-governors, one for the Chaplains, one for the Treasurer, and one other for the Receiver-general of the said house. There shall be likewise built on each side of the said county-house nine houses for the providing the labourers and prisoners with the necessaries of life.

Suttling Houses.

How to be leased.

VII. That the said eighteen houses shall be leased to proper persons, by the governor for the time being, for the term of seven years; subject to a condition of forfeiture and re-entry on the breach of certain rules and statutes of the said house, hereinafter particularly mentioned.

County-house how furnished.

VIII. That the lodging-rooms of the county-house shall be furnished with beds, allowing one bed to two persons; one large joint-stool, and two small ones, for each bed. And that

the working-rooms of the said house shall be provided with all kinds of implements and tools, for carrying on such manufactures as shall from time to time be introduced into the said house.

How county house of correction.

IX. That the lodging-rooms of the county house of correction shall be furnished with a coverlet and blankets for the prisoners, and matting to lie on; and the working-rooms shall be provided with implements for beating hemp, chopping rags, and for other of the hardest and vilest labour.

X. That A, B, &c., shall be commissioners for carrying this Act into execution. That the said commissioners, or three of them, shall meet once a week, at such places within the said county as they shall think most proper, from Lady Day 1753 to Michaelmas 1753, and once a fortnight from Michaelmas 1753 to Lady Day 1755; then to make up their accounts before a committee of the House of Commons, if then sitting; if not, at the next sessions; after which the said commission to cease and be determined.

Sum to be raised.

XI. That in order to defray the expense of the aforesaid building, and provide the same with all necessary furniture, as well as to provide implements and materials for setting the poor to work, and for other expenses during the first year, a sum not exceeding shall be immediately raised.

XII. That the following officers shall be appointed for the government and care of the said houses; and these officers shall be allowed the following salaries:

County-house.

One Governor	Two Chaplains
Two Clerks	Six Keepers
Two Deputies	Six Assistants
One Clerk each	One Superintendent to every Room
Treasurer	Four Watchmen
Receiver	Clerk
Three Clerks	Sexton
Store-keeper	
Three clerks	

House of Correction

One Keeper	Superintendent to every Room
Three Under-keepers	Two Watchmen
Six Assistants	

Infirmary

Surgeon	Matron
Apothecary	Nurses

XIII. That the Governor shall sue and be sued by the name of the Governor of the County-house of Middlesex. And that, besides all other powers to be given him, he shall have power, as Governor of the said house, to make contracts with all persons whatever, and to draw

on the Treasurer for any sums of money so contracted for, in payment for any implements or materials of any kind of manufacture, trade, or mystery. He shall likewise have full power to exercise and carry on, in either of the said houses, any such manufacture, trade, or mystery as may be lawfully exercised and carried on within this kingdom; and may once every month hold a grand market at the county-house, or in some convenient place near adjoining thereto, for the disposal of such wares and manufactures as shall be wrought by the labourers in the said houses. And that every particular article of such sale, with the price for which it was sold, shall be entered in two books; one of which shall be kept in the receiver's, the other in the store-keeper's office, as hereafter is more particularly expressed.

Who shall be committed to the County-house, &c. 1. Persons within the Vagrant Act. 2. Or those liable to be sent to the House of Correction.

XIV. That when any person shall be brought before a Justice of Peace, for the County of Middlesex, and shall be convicted before him, on the oath of one credible witness, of any offence by which he is made a disorderly person, or a rogue and vagabond, by a certain Act passed in the 17th of his present Majesty, called the Vagrant Act; or shall be so convicted of any other crime for which he is liable to be committed to the House of Correction for any fixed time, or at the discretion of one or more Justices, by any law now in being, it shall be lawful for the said Justice to commit such person to the

County-house, or the County House of Correction, at his discretion; which commitment shall be in the following form:

> Receive into your custody the body of J. S. herewith sent you, convicted before me, on the oath of J. N. a credible witness, of an offence within the Statute of commonly called and him safely keep in your said custody until the next general or quarter-sessions—(or for any shorter time, to be specified in the commitment.) Given, etc.

And this mittimus, if to the County-house, shall be directed to the Governor of the County-house, his Deputy, &c.; if to the County House of Correction, to the Keeper of, &c. And whereas it will happen that such prisoners will be frequently conveyed to the said houses from distant parts of the county, the Justice shall endorse on the back of his commitment the sum to be paid by the Receiver of the County-house as an allowance for the charges of conveying the said prisoner or prisoners, such allowance not to exceed 6*d.* by the mile; and if need be 6*d.* more for the necessary refreshment of such prisoner.

3. Or persons appointed to be committed to the County Gaol in execution.

XV. That it shall be likewise lawful for the Justices to commit to either of the said houses, all persons convicted before them of any crimes of which, by the laws now in being, any one or

more Justices of Peace have cognizance in a summary way, out of their sessions, and when the offenders, being so convicted, are appointed to be committed to the county gaol by way of punishment for their said offences.

4. Or persons accused of small thefts.

XVI. That where any person shall be accused on oath of petty larceny before any Justice of Peace, and it shall appear to him that it was the party's first offence, and that the theft was not exaggerated by any heinous circumstances, the Justice may at his discretion commit the offender to either of the aforesaid houses till the next sessions, or for a less time; or if he sees proper may proceed to commit the person to the county gaol, and bind over all the necessary parties to prosecute, as he may lawfully do at this time.

5. Or wanderers without a pass.

XVII. That it shall be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to seize all suspicious persons who shall be found wandering on foot about the fields, lanes, or highways, or in the streets of any of the towns or parishes of the said county, or within the Liberty of Westminster; and all labourers or servants, or persons of low degree, who, after the hour of ten in the evening shall be found harbouring in any alehouse or victualling house; and if such persons shall not give reasonable satisfaction to him or them by whom he or she is apprehended that he or she belongs to the said county, and is going on some lawful errand or business, or

if he or she belongs to any other county, or is then six miles distant from his own habitation, and shall not produce a pass or certificate, signed by some magistrate, minister, or churchwarden, expressing whither or on what account he or she is then travelling, it shall be lawful for the party apprehending to confine such person till he or she can be delivered to the constable, or other peace officer, or shall be carried by the party himself so apprehending such person before some Justice of the Peace; who shall examine the said person; and if he or she shall appear to be a wanderer or idle person, and shall have no legal pass as aforesaid, such Justice may commit him or her to the county-house, or county house of correction, as he shall think proper, there to remain till the next general or quarter-sessions, or for any less time, at his discretion. And all constables, headboroughs, &c. are hereby ordered to apprehend all such persons of whom they shall have notice, and to receive all such persons into their custody as shall be delivered to them, and to convey them before some Justice, under the penalty of five pounds to be levied by warrant from the said Justices, one half to the use of the person complaining, the other half to the use of the said county-house. Provided, nevertheless, that whoever shall presume maliciously to detain any person, contrary to the plain intent of this law, shall forfeit to the person so

aggrieved the sum of ten pounds, to be recovered by action, &c.

Pass when and how to be obtained by the party.

XVIII. And whereas it may often happen that poor persons have lawful occasions to travel above six miles from home, and into a foreign county, on errands of business for themselves or others, or to procure work, or sometimes to visit their near relations, who live at a distance from them—That any magistrate of the county or place, or minister, or churchwarden of the parish, being applied to, and properly informed of the truth of such lawful occasion, shall deliver to such persons a pass in the following words, *mutatis mutandis:*

Parish of Middlesex. Permit A.B., the bearer hereof, to pass to the town of Shaftesbury in the county of Dorset, and there to remain during the time limited in this pass, he behaving himself orderly and according to law.

Given under my hand this 10th of Nov., 1752.

C.D. Minister of the said parish.

This pass to continue in force one month from the date hereof inclusive, and no longer.

—or by any other.

XIX. That it shall be lawful for any gentleman, farmer, artificer, or tradesman, to employ any journeyman, servant, or labourer, of any other parish or county besides his own, he hav-

ing first obtained from such magistrate, minister, or churchwarden as aforesaid, such pass as aforesaid, which the said magistrate, &c., are hereby required to grant, at the desire of such gentleman, farmer, &c. Such pass to be appointed to continue in force for so long time as such gentleman, &c., shall require, during the continuance of which pass it shall not be lawful for any person whatever to molest or remove the said journeyman or labourer from his said service, unless for some crime cognizable before a magistrate, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Who may go voluntarily to the County-house and how.

XX. And whereas many able and industrious persons, who are willing to get a livelihood by honest labour, are often, for want of such labour, reduced to great distress, and forced against their will to become chargeable to the parishes to which they belong: that when any poor person shall apply to the minister, or churchwarden of any parish, and shew to either of them such their inability to procure a livelihood in their own parish, or in any other parish in the neighbourhood, the said minister or churchwarden shall deliver to such poor person a certificate in the words following:

Parish of Middlesex. To the Governor of the County-house of the said county. I recommend to your care C.D., the bearer hereof, to be provided for in your county-house, he being

an honest, industrious person, but incapable at present of procuring work in this neighbourhood.

Given under my hand this 10th Nov., 1752.

A.B., Churchwarden of the said parish.

Which said pass being produced and sworn to before any Justice of Peace of the said county, shall be countersigned by him. Provided that it shall appear to the Justice that such pass was obtained at the desire of the party obtaining it, and that from absolute want of labour in the said parish.

Penalty on counterfeit passes.

XXI. That whoever shall presume to counterfeit any such pass or certificate as aforesaid, or to personate him or her to whom such pass or certificate was originally granted, is hereby declared to be guilty of a very high misdemeanor, of which being convicted upon the oath of one witness, or by his own confession, before one Justice of the county where he shall be apprehended, he shall be committed by the said Justice to the county house of correction, if within the county of Middlesex, or to the house of correction in any other county, there to be severely whipt and put to hard labour for any time not exceeding twelve, or less than six, calendar months.

XXII. That if any person shall be absent from his parish with a pass, either obtained by himself or at the request of any other, and shall not return to his said parish at the expiration thereof, (sickness or other inability excepted,) such person being lawfully convicted thereof by confession or oath of one witness, shall be sent to the county house of correction, if found in Middlesex, or, being apprehended in any other county, to the house of correction there, by any Justice of the said county, there to be whipt and to remain to hard labour till the next sessions; and then to be continued or discharged at the discretion of the Justices.

—or on not returning at the expiration of the passes.

XXIII. That when any person shall come to the county-house with a certificate as above, the Governor or his deputy shall examine the said person as to his age, ability, and skill in any work or manufacture, and shall then order the receiver to enter in a book, to be kept for that purpose, the name and age of the said person, the parish to which he belongs, and the day of his admission into the county-house, together with the kind of labour to which he is appointed; and a duplicate thereof shall likewise be entered in another book, to be kept by the storekeeper, after which the said person shall be set to work according to his abilities, &c. In the said book shall likewise be entered an account of the monies advanced to him by the receiver, and of the repayments to be

Manner of admission of volunteers into the County-house.

made by him as hereafter is ordered and appointed.

How volunteers to be detained.

XXIV. And if any such person shall depart from the said house more than the space of one mile, or shall absent himself above one hour from the said house, without the leave of the Governor or Deputy Governor, such person being thereof convicted upon the oath of one witness, or on his own confession, before the Governor, his deputy, or any one Justice of the Peace, shall be committed to the county house of correction, there to remain till the next sessions, or for any less time: Provided, nevertheless, that the Governor, or his deputy, are hereby required to grant a licence of departure to all such persons, whenever the same shall be demanded; unless such person shall not then have finished the particular piece of work in which he shall be employed, or unless he shall then remain indebted to the receiver of the said house; such licence of departure to be in the following words:

County-house of Middlesex. A.B., the bearer hereof, who came voluntarily to the county-house aforesaid, is at his own request discharged from the same, and at liberty to return to his lawful habitation in the parish of in the said county. C.D., Governor.

To which the Governor may, at his discretion, add a clause signifying the industry or good behaviour of the said party.

Manner of admission of those committed to the county-house.

XXV. That every person who shall be brought by mittimus to the county-house shall be examined, entered, and set to work as above; a badge with these words, "County House," in large letters, shall likewise be sewed on the left shoulder of the said person, who shall be confined within the said house till he is discharged in manner as hereafter is expressed; and whoever shall presume to tear off, or otherwise destroy the said badge, either from himself or any other person, being thereof convicted by the oath of one witness, or on his own confession, before the Governor or deputy, shall be by him committed to the county house of correction, there to remain till discharged by due course of law.

Manner of admitting into the County-house of correction.

XXVI. That when any person shall be brought to the county house of correction, by a mittimus to the said house, he shall be immediately confined within the fasting-room, there to remain with no other maintenance than bread and water during the space of twenty-four hours; after which he shall be put to hard labour with the other prisoners, unless he shall give any marks, by his words or behaviour, of any outrageous degree of reprobacy; in which case the keeper of the said county house of correction shall inform the

Governor or his deputy thereof, who shall convene the party before him, and may at his discretion remand the said person to the aforesaid fasting-room, or may confine him alone in a cell, to be supported with bread and water only till such time as he shall behave in a more orderly manner; or, in default thereof, till the next sessions. And all persons committed to the county house of correction shall there remain and be put to hard labour till they be discharged at the sessions, in such manner as in this Act is directed, unless in cases where a shorter confinement is appointed by the Act itself.

Rules and orders of the house—Hour of prayer.

XXVII. That the bell of the county-house shall be rung every morning at four throughout the year, and prayers shall begin in the chapel precisely at five; at the conclusion of which, on every Wednesday and Friday, some short lecture or exhortation of morality shall be read to the people; and if any person, unless on account of sickness, or for some other reasonable cause to be allowed by the Governor or his deputy, shall be absent, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, to be punished as hereafter.

—of work.

XXVIII. That the hours of work in the county house of correction shall be every day from six in the morning to seven in the evening, allowing half an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner; and in the county house

the said hours of work shall be daily from six in the morning till nine, from ten to one, and from two till six in the evening, except on Thursdays, when two hours in the afternoon are to be otherwise employed, as hereafter is appointed, such holy-days likewise excepted as hereafter are mentioned; that prayers shall again be read in the chapel every evening at seven.

XXIX. That the bell of the county-house shall be rung every evening at nine, that all fires and lights shall be then put out, except in the infirmary and in the apartments of the officers; that all the gates and doors of both houses, except as aforesaid, shall then be shut and fastened, the keys delivered to the Governor or deputy, and the watch shall be set. —of rest.

XXX. That the keepers or under-keepers of both houses shall by turns constantly attend and supervise the labourers, and shall take an account of any neglect of work, or other misbehaviour; the keepers of the county-house shall likewise take account of any extraordinary diligence in any of the said labourers, and shall faithfully report the same twice in every week to the Governor or his deputy, at their court, which is hereafter appointed to be holden, and that one of the labourers of the best morals and demeanour shall in every room be appointed to supervise the conduct of the other labourers, and to report the same.

—of recreation.

XXXI. That as often as may be, the labourers in the county-house shall be permitted to refresh themselves in the inclosed ground, contiguous to the said house, in the presence of two at least of the keepers and under-keepers, particularly on Sundays, and on every Thursday in the year, when two hours labour in the afternoon shall be remitted for that purpose; the same liberty shall be granted to any one or more of the prisoners in the house of correction, provided that the surgeon or apothecary shall certify to the Governor or his deputy that such refreshment is necessary for the health of the said prisoners, who shall on all such occasions be sufficiently guarded, and none of the labourers to be present at the same time; provided that Christmas Day and the three subsequent days, Twelfth Day, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Monday in Easter week, Monday in Whitsun week, Michaelmas Day, Gunpowder Treason Day, and His Majesty's birthday, shall be holy-days in the county-house, and the labourers may recreate themselves on those days; which shall likewise be days of rest in the county house of correction.

Order for the sick.

XXXII. That no person shall be removed from either of the said houses to the infirmary, unless by an order signed by the Governor or his deputy, to be obtained by the certificate of the surgeon or apothecary that such person is in a sick and languishing condition; and that

notice of such removal shall be immediately given to the receiver and store-keeper, who shall minute the day of such removal, as they shall likewise the recovery or death of the party, (of which they shall also have notice,) in the same page where the person's name shall have afore been entered.

—and dead.

XXXIII. And as often as any of the labourers or prisoners, in either of the said houses, shall happen to die, the Governor shall take order for their burial in the cheapest manner consistent with decency, in the burying-ground belonging to the said house; unless any of the relations of the deceased shall be desirous of removing the body to be buried elsewhere at their own expense—After which an account shall be taken of any clothes, money, or other things, of which the deceased shall die possessed, as well as an account taken of what was due from the receiver to him, or from him to the receiver; and if on the balance anything shall appear to have been due to the deceased such balance, together with his clothes, &c., shall carefully and faithfully be delivered to his lawful representative: all which shall be entered in the book of the receiver and store-keeper, in the same page where the said party's name was above ordered to be entered.

Advancement to the labourers in the county-house.

XXXIV. That as often as any person shall be committed or admitted to the county-house the receiver shall immediately advance to him

or her, if desired, the sum of two shillings, and so weekly the same sum, until the first sale of the manufacture wrought by such person; after which it shall not be lawful for the said receiver to make any farther advancement, without a special order from the Governor or deputy, specifying the sum to be advanced, opposite to which shall be entered the letter O; and such order shall likewise be filed as a voucher for that purpose. All these advancements to be afterwards deducted by the receiver, after the rate of fourpence in the shilling, out of the monies due to the said labourer from the sale of his manufacture, till the whole shall be repaid.

—to the prisoners in the county-house of correction. Deductions from the labourers.

XXXV. That to all persons committed to the county-house of correction at their commitment thither shall be advanced, by the said receiver, the sum of one shilling, and so weekly the said sum during their continuance there.

XXXVI. That from all those who are committed to the county-house the sum of twopence in every shilling shall be deducted out of the net profits arising from their labour; but from those who voluntarily come thither no more than one penny in every shilling.

Accounts to be kept.

XXXVII. That immediately after every sale the receiver shall make up the accounts thereof with the Governor or deputy, which accounts shall be examined with and checked by those kept by the storekeeper; after which the re-

ceiver shall presently distribute to the several labourers in the county-house all such sums as shall by him be received for their several manufactures, having first made such deductions as are herein before appointed; all which deductions shall be forthwith paid into the hands of the treasurer of the said house.

XXXVIII. That the receiver and store-keeper shall keep an exact account of all implements, materials, &c., from time to time brought to the said house, of those which are delivered to the labourers, and those which remain in the hands of the said store-keeper. The same exact account to be likewise kept of all the manufactures which shall be wrought in the said house, and by whom; with the prices for which the said manufactures were sold, the monies paid to the labourers, and the deductions: all which shall be entered in two books by the receiver and store-keeper, allowing a separate page to every man.

Governor to inspect accounts, and sessions.

XXXIX. That all such accounts shall be examined by the Governor, and shall be afterwards laid before every quarter-sessions; at which time the receiver and store-keeper shall swear to the truth thereof; to which said sessions the treasurer shall likewise transmit an account of the monies then in his hands; and if there shall at any time appear to be less than the sum of one thousand pounds remaining with the treasurer the deficiency shall be made

How deficiences made up.

up by a county rate, together with so much more as by the best computation shall be thought necessary for mean expenditures, so that there may still remain the said sum of one thousand pounds capital stock in the hands of the said treasurer at the ensuing quarter-sessions. And if any considerable excess of the said capital stock, over and above what shall be necessary for paying the salaries of the officers and other expenses concerning the said houses, shall be in the treasurer's hands, such redundancy shall then be applied in aid of the parochial rates in the several parishes of the said county.

How redundancies employed.

Teachers of manufacture to be hired.

XL. That for the better instruction of the labourers in the manufactures and mysteries now exercised in this kingdom, as well as for the introduction of foreign manufactures and mysteries into the said kingdom, it shall be lawful for the Governor to expend annually, during the first three years, the sum of , and every subsequent year annually the sum of , for the pay and encouragement of persons to teach our own and foreign manufactures to the said labourers. All such disbursements to be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose, attested by the party receiving the same, and by the Governor and one deputy at least, as well as by the receiver; and such book to be constantly inspected and examined into by the justices as they shall think fit.

XLI. Upon application made by any nobleman, gentleman, merchant, tradesman, farmer, or substantial householder, dwelling within the County of Middlesex, or within twenty miles of the said county-house, to the Governor or deputy, signifying that such nobleman, &c., is desirous to take into his service any labourer or labourers then confined in the said county-house, it shall be lawful for the Governor or deputy and he is hereby required to deliver over the said labourer or labourers to such person so applying, and to deliver to each of the said labourers a certificate in the words following:

Labourers may be let out to service.

County-house Middlesex,

A. B. is delivered to C. D. as his servant, to serve him until and then to return to the said house.

Dated the 5th of August, 1753.

E. F., Deputy-governor.

Provided, nevertheless, that where such servant shall be hired for a year certain the clause relating to his return shall be omitted; and when any labourer shall be so hired as aforesaid for any less time than one year the person so hiring such labourer shall deposit in the hands of the receiver of the said house one half of the labourer's wages for the time he shall be so hired; and if he shall be hired for any longer time than two months, then one

month's wages to be deposited; which money so deposited shall be paid by the receiver to every such labourer immediately upon his return to the said house, deducting one penny in every shilling. And if such labourer shall depart, or be lawfully discharged from his said service before the wages so deposited shall become due, the receiver shall return the whole to the person depositing the same, deducting only as above; but if the said labourer shall abide with his said master during the limited time, and shall not return within two days after the expiration thereof, (sickness, or other lawful impediment, excepted,) then shall the money deposited be forfeited to the use of the said house; of all which retainers, deposits, repayments, and forfeitures, a double entry shall be made by the receiver and store-keeper.

And if any person so hiring any labourer as aforesaid shall discharge the same before the expiration of the term for which he was so hired, he shall forfeit the whole money deposited by him as above; which money shall be paid to such labourer at his return to the said house.

Provided that it shall be lawful on reasonable cause shewn to the satisfaction of any one Justice of the Peace, either by the master or labourer, for such Justice to discharge such labourer and to send him back to the county-house, or order him to the county house of cor-

rection, at his pleasure; and if such labourer shall have been hired into any foreign county the Justice of such county may, if he pleases, commit him to the house of correction there: provided, likewise, that if such labourer shall by sickness or any accident be rendered incapable of working, it shall be lawful for his master, at his expense, to return him to the county-house to be provided for in the infirmary of the said house; in which case the money deposited shall be paid to him to whom it shall appear to be due.

And if any labourer so hired as aforesaid for less time than one year shall not, at the end of his term, return to the said house; or if any labourer whatsoever, so being hired, shall run away or depart from his master's service before the expiration of his term, unless for some default in his master or mistress, or shall assault his master or mistress, or shall refuse to work at the command of his said master or his agent, or be guilty of any misdemeanor in his said service, it shall be lawful for any Justice of the Peace, if such masters shall reside in the County of Middlesex, to commit the said labourer to the county house of correction, there to be first severely whipt, and to remain to hard labour till the next session, when he may be farther dealt with by the Justices at their discretion: or if the said master shall reside in any other county, then to be sent by a Justice of

that county to the house of correction there, to be severely whipt, and to remain for any time not exceeding three, nor less than one calendar month. Provided that no person who comes voluntarily to the said house shall be forced into such service contrary to his own consent and option.

Crimes cognizable before the higher courts of justice. 1. Conspiracies to break the prison.

XLII. That if any persons, to the number of three or more, shall conspire together to break the said county-house, or county house of correction, and shall have provided themselves with any kind of arms or weapons for that purpose, and shall all or any of them do any act whatsoever in pursuance of such conspiracy, and with a manifest design of executing the same, in consequence of which act any officer belonging to either of the said houses shall be killed, maimed, or wounded, this shall be felony without clergy in all the conspirators.

2. To beat, wound, &c., the officers.

XLIII. That if any persons, to the number of three or more, whereof all or any part shall be confined within either of the said houses, shall maliciously beat and bruise or wound any officer belonging to either of those houses, in such manner that the surgeon or apothecary appointed to attend the said houses shall on oath declare that the life or limb of such officer was brought into danger thereby, such persons being lawfully convicted of such offence shall suffer death as felons without clergy.

3. Assaults on the Governor, &c.

XLIV. That every person confined within

either of the aforesaid houses, who shall assault the Governor, deputy governor, or chaplains, though not then in the execution of their office; or who shall assault, beat, and bruise, or wound any of the officers belonging to either house, any wise, on account of or in the execution of their several offices; or who shall actually break either of the said houses, and escape therefrom; being lawfully convicted of any of the said offences shall be transported for fourteen years.

4. Conveying arms, &c., into the houses.

XLV. That all persons who shall convey any fire-arms, or any mischievous weapon or tool, to any of the labourers or prisoners within either of the said houses, without the privity of the Governor or deputy-governor, shall be guilty of felony; and being lawfully convicted thereof shall be transported for seven years.

5. Refusal to work.

XLVI. That all persons committed to the county house of correction who shall absolutely refuse or neglect to labour; after a fortnight's confinement in the said house; and having during that time received the discipline of the same, being lawfully convicted of such absolute refusal or neglect, before Justices of oyer and terminer, or gaol-delivery, shall be transported for years; provided that it may be lawful for any officer of the army to receive the body of such offender, and to convey him to serve his Majesty in any of his forces in the East or West Indies.

6. Frauds in the officers.

XLVII. That any receiver, storekeeper, clerk, or other person who shall knowingly and with a fraudulent design make any false entry in any of the books by this Act ordered to be kept, and in which entries are here ordered to be made, such offender, being lawfully convicted thereof, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and transported for seven years.

Accused persons to be committed to the county gaol.

XLVIII. That all persons lawfully accused, by the oath of one credible witness, of any of the aforesaid crimes before the Governor or his deputy, shall by him be committed to the county gaol, there to remain till discharged by due course of law. In the same manner shall be committed all persons accused of felony in either of the said houses, or of giving any maim, dangerous wound, bruise, or hurt, to any person within the said houses.

Lesser crimes.
1. Introducing spirituous liquors into the houses.

XLIX. That if any of the officers, or any person having liberty to sell their wares within the said houses, shall sell or give, to any of the labourers in either of the said houses, any quantity, how small soever, of spirituous liquors, without the order or direction of the surgeon or apothecary, such persons, being lawfully convicted thereof before the Justices at their sessions, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by the Justices with fine and imprisonment: and all such persons being so convicted shall be incapable of bearing any office, or selling any of their wares

within either of the said houses, for the future: and all those who shall be charged on oath before the Governor with the said crime shall be bound with sufficient sureties to appear and answer the same at the next sessions.

L. That all persons wilfully and maliciously destroying, spoiling, or injuring any of the furniture belonging to either of the said houses, or any of the implements, tools, materials, manufacture, or stock being therein, shall, when lawfully convicted thereof before the Justices at their sessions, be deemed guilty of an infamous crime, and may, besides fine and imprisonment, receive any corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, at the discretion of the said Justices. 2. Destroying work, &c.

LI. That every person escaping from the county house of correction shall, on his being apprehended, be brought before the Governor or deputy, and, being thereof convicted before him, shall be by him recommitted to the said house; there to be severely whipt, and then confined during the space of ten days in one of the cells belonging to the said house, and to have only bread and water for his support: after which he shall remain in the house of correction subject to the rules of the house as before, with this likewise, that he shall on no account be liable to be discharged from the same until the next sessions which shall be held after the expiration of six calendar months. 3. Escape from the county house of correction.

—— from the county house.

LII. That every person escaping from the county-house shall be committed to the county house of correction, and shall be whipt at his entrance into the same.

Jurisdiction of the Governor.

LIII. That twice in every week, that is to say on every Monday and every Thursday, in the forenoon, the Governor or his deputy shall hold a court within the said county-house; in which the said Governor or his deputy shall have power to hear and determine any of the following offences.

Petty offences.

1. Quarrels amongst the labourers where no maim, wound, violent bruise, or other dangerous hurt is given or done; but where the injury consists in some slight blow or kick, or of contumelious and provoking language.

2. Profane swearing or cursing, or other profane discourse, and all kind of indecency in word or act.

3. Drunkenness.

4. Absence from chapel without cause, or irreverent behaviour there.

5. Absence from work, idleness at it, or negligently spoiling the same.

6. Obstinate disobedience to any of the rules of the house.

All which are hereby declared to be offences against the true intent and meaning of this Act, and to be punishable by the said Governor or deputy, by rebuke, small fine, or confinement for any short time, not exceeding three days;

allowing only such sustenance as shall be thought proper for the first offence; for a second offence the confinement may be enlarged to a week; and for a third the offender may be committed to the house of correction, there to remain till the next sessions or for any less time; and may likewise be ordered to be whipt. And in case of a third offence committed by any of the prisoners in the house of correction the Governor or deputy may, besides the punishment of whipping, confine such person in one of the cells, there to remain till the next sessions; or, if such offence be an absolute refusal or neglect of work, may commit him to the county gaol, there to remain till he be discharged by due course of law: provided that the second and third offence above mentioned is here intended to be an offence of the same kind with the first. All convictions to be on the view of the Governor or deputy, confession of the party, or on the oath of one credible witness.

Of what the Governor, &c., to enquire.

Secondly, The Governor or deputy shall at such his court enquire of all persons who have behaved themselves so as to merit reward, and shall minute their names in a book to be kept for that purpose, which shall be produced to the Justices at the next sessions.

Thirdly, They shall enquire of the conduct of all the officers under them, and if they find any of them deficient in their duty, or guilty

of any cruelty, corruption, or other atrocious fault, such officer shall be suspended from his office till the next sessions, when the same shall be presented before the Justices.

Fourthly, They shall enquire of all offences within this Act, and of all other offences of which the persons lawfully accused are to be committed to the county gaol; and such as are so accused they shall commit thither.

Fifthly, They shall from time to time enquire into the prices of provisions brought into the said house, and regulate the same, subject to the supervisal of the sessions. And if any exactions shall have been made on the labourers or prisoners, or any unwholesome provisions introduced into the said houses, or other default be in the victuallers, they shall report the same to the sessions.

Jurisdiction of the sessions.

LIV. That on one of the days on every sessions to be holden at Hicks's Hall the said sessions shall be adjourned to the county-house, there to be holden within five days next after such adjournment; at which sessions at the county-house the Justices shall have power to enquire:

First, Of all neglects, corruptions, or other misdemeanors, in any of the officers of the said houses, and to punish the same, (unless in the Governor or deputies or chaplains of the said house,) by reproof, fine, or dismission, as they shall think meet; and if by dismission, then to

place some other fit person in the room of the officers so dismissed.

Secondly, They shall enquire into the general conduct of the said house; and if they shall find any default in the Governor, deputy governors, or chaplains of the same, they shall report such default before their brethren at the next ensuing sessions at Hicks's Hall, where the Governor, &c., shall have notice to appear and make his defence; and if such default shall seem to the majority of the Justices of the said sessions to be well proved, and to be of such a nature as to merit any severe censure, they may, if they please, report the same to the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, who shall have full cognizance of the matter, and may remove the Governor, &c., from his office, or fine him at his pleasure.

Thirdly, The Justices shall enquire of the prices of provisions, &c., which shall be brought into the said houses, and shall regulate the same at their discretion, altering, if they see fit, the orders taken by the Governor herein; and may hear the report of the Governor touching any default in the victuallers, and may punish the same by fine or by turning out such victualler at their pleasure.

Fourthly, They shall enquire of the behaviour of all persons confined within the house of correction, and such as they shall find, by the report of the keeper on his oath,

or by other evidence, to have behaved themselves orderly, and to have applied closely to their labour, the Justices may enlarge from that confinement, and commit them to the county-house, to be there kept till the ensuing sessions; and such as they shall find to have behaved in a less orderly manner, or to be lazy or negligent in their work, they may order to remain till the next sessions in the house of correction, where they then are; but such as they shall find to be utterly reprobate and ungovernable, and to refuse all kinds of labour, the Justices are hereby required to commit to the county gaol, there to remain till discharged by due course of law.

Fifthly, The Justices shall likewise enquire by the recommendation of the Governor, deputy governor, or rector, or by the oath of other evidence, of the behaviour of the several labourers then confined within the county-house; and such as shall appear to have behaved themselves decently and orderly, and to have been diligent in their work, the Justices may, at the desire of the party, enlarge from their confinement: provided that such party shall make out, to their satisfaction, that there is any reasonable cause to hope or expect that such labourer will be able to maintain himself in an honest manner at his own home; in which case the Justices shall give the party a pass to enable him to travel thither without molesta-

tion: provided that no person shall be discharged from the county-house while he shall remain indebted to the receiver of the said house.

And such persons as shall have behaved themselves in a less becoming manner, or who shall have been idle and negligent in their work, or who shall not be able to make it appear to the satisfaction of the Justices that they would be capable of procuring an honest livelihood at their own homes, or shall remain indebted to the said receiver, the said Justices shall order to continue in the said county-house till the next sessions. And if it shall appear to the said Justices by any of the means aforesaid that any of the said persons have behaved themselves in a notorious and outrageous manner, or have totally neglected or refused to work, then it shall be lawful for the said Justices to commit such persons to the county house of correction, there to remain till the next sessions, with hard labour, and with other such correction and punishment as they shall think proper.

Sixthly, the Justices shall inspect all the accounts relating to the said house, and shall have power to examine on oath the treasurer, receiver, store-keeper, with their several clerks, or any other person touching the same; and if the said accounts shall appear to them to be fair and just, they shall then sign

the same: which accounts having been first examined and signed by the Governor or deputy, and so passed and countersigned by the said Justices, shall be good and effectual to all manner of purposes: but if there shall appear to the Justices upon their said examination to have been any gross mistakes, or any kind of false entry, fraud, or collusion, shall appear upon the face of the said accounts, the said Justices may, if they please, examine into and finally determine the same; as likewise may suspend or dismiss any officer who shall to them appear to have been guilty of any such false entry, fraud, or collusion; or may, if they shall see more convenient, adjourn over the further hearing and determination of the same to the next sessions: to which they may bind over all parties, and in the mean time may, if they shall think fit, suspend the suspected person from the exercise of his office, and may appoint another to officiate in his room.

Lastly, they shall have power to enquire into the behaviour of any of the labourers, who shall have so behaved themselves as to merit rewards, and may proceed to order them severally such reward as to them shall seem proper: all which shall be publicly paid to the said labourers in open court by the Governor, who shall draw on the treasurer for the same; such reward to be paid in the presence of all

who are to receive any punishment at that time.

Governor, &c., to inspect punishments.

LV. Whereas the punishment of whipping is inflicted in some cases in this law, which whipping is always intended to be severe and exemplary, the Governor or his deputy is always to be present at the inflicting the same.

How the officers to be chose.

LVI. That the Governor, deputy governors, chaplains, treasurer, receiver, keeper of the house of correction, and all other the officers and ministers attending the same, shall be chose at the sessions at Hicks's Hall, by the majority of the Justices there present, by ballot; and before any of the said Justices shall be admitted to ballot he shall take the following oath:

> You do swear that you will give your suffrage in the ballot, now to be made, impartially, not out of favour or affection, nor on account of any promise made by you or to you, nor by the force of any recommendation whatsoever; but as you are persuaded, to the best of your knowledge or belief, that the person for whom you shall give your suffrage is better qualified than any other of his competitors (if there be any—otherwise say only "is qualified") for the discharge of the trust for which he now appears a candidate. So help you God.

In like manner shall all vacancies be supplied from time to time.

Fines, &c., how disposed.

LVII. That all fines and forfeitures to be imposed or to accrue by virtue of this Act, not otherwise disposed of, shall be paid to the treasurer of the County-house, and be applied to the use of the said house.

By-laws.

LVIII. The Governor may make by-laws with the consent of the Justices, the same to be approved by the Lord Chancellor.

LIX. Persons tried, &c., shall plead this Act, &c.

ARGUMENTS IN EXPLANATION AND SUPPORT OF THE FOREGOING PROPOSALS.

Paragraph I., &c., to XIII. The appointment of a County-house and County house of Correction, with the Regulation thereof.

Par. I. *In Middlesex, &c.*] It is proposed to make the trial first in the county of Middlesex, as I am best acquainted with the state of the poor in that county, and as the well regulating them there is of the greatest moment to the public; but if the plan should be approved by experience it will be very easy to extend it over the kingdom.

Ibid. In some convenient place.] This should be at some little distance from London; nor will

it be difficult among the many wastes which lie within a few miles to fix on some convenient place for the purpose. I do not know myself any so proper as a common near Acton Wells, the purchase of which, though of three hundred acres extent, would be very reasonable; it being at present allotted to the use of the poor of Fulham, who derive very little benefit from it. I may add that this is a very healthy spot, and most commodiously situated; being at no great distance from any part of Middlesex, and not five miles from Hyde Park Corner.

II. *The County-house to be large enough, &c.*] As whatever is perfectly new is apt to affect us with surprise, and as this surprise is increased and attended with doubt and incredulity in proportion to the greatness of the object, I am well aware of the impression with which the largeness of this building will strike many minds: the idea of a body of men united under one government in a large city must have been amazing when it was first propounded to men who lived a wandering life, scattered in single families or collected in very small numbers together; though indeed our astonishment is not quite so excusable, as we see not only the possibility of such union but the advantages arising from it.

In the present case, however, I think to make it appear from reason, authority, and experience that, to answer the ends proposed,

to make the poor useful members of society, we must bring them as much as possible together; at least so as to collect the poor of a single county.

First, It is a great work, and requires many great qualifications in the person who is principally to direct it: such men are not to be found in every parish in a county; nor, if they were found, could they be induced to employ their time this way by any reward which the parish could bestow on them: for not much less time and trouble will be requisite to the directing and supervising a small body of men than a body twenty times as large, when once this is brought into regularity and order. The same abilities and the same trouble which can well order and govern a small state will suffice for the government of a large kingdom. To manage the poor so as to produce the ends proposed in this undertaking is a task to which very few are equal; and those who are equal to it will scarce undertake it unless they are well paid for their pains.

Secondly, The expense and difficulty of carrying this purpose into execution will always increase in proportion to the smallness of the body of people by whose hands it is to be executed. And this is the reason why workhouses (more properly called idle-houses) have by experience been found to produce no better effect: for if the masters of these houses had

a real disposition to set the poor to work, and if they had all adequate capacities for that purpose, they would by no means be able to effect it. One or two or three manufactures will not suffice to employ the various talents, skill, and strength of a small body of men, especially when this body is eternally changing. Many inconveniences will necessarily attend such houses: the manufacturer will sometimes stand still for want of work, and at others the materials will be spoiled for want of hands; whereas in such a number of persons, as are here proposed to be collected together, some will be found capable of every manufacture, and of every branch of it; and as from a certainty of finding such hands all kind of materials and all kind of tools will be provided, both the mischiefs above complained of will, of course, be avoided. I have here supposed the existence of parish work-houses at least, (whereas in reality there are but few of these where any number of poor are lodged, and much fewer where they are in any manner employed,) for as to those parishes where the poor are left at large it is utterly impossible that they should be made in any degree useful, or indeed any other than a heavy burden on their neighbours; some of whom (by the way) are often little richer than themselves. In a large body alone the materials can be sufficiently supplied, the hands properly adapted,

new manufactures taught, and the work well disposed of, to the emolument of the public and the proper encouragement of the labourer.

Thirdly, As the industrious cannot so well be employed, so neither can the lazy be so efficaciously compelled to work, in parish work-houses; the care of which must be intrusted to persons of mean consideration, where there can be no proper authority to inflict punishment, nor any adequate force to execute it on those who are most reprobate and desperate.

Fourthly, The poor cannot be so well nor so cheaply provided for in many bodies as they may be when collected into one.

Fifthly, They will not be so commodiously confined. In small and crowded work-houses, where there are no courts nor outlets to admit the air, the poor are often so distempered that their keepers are obliged by common humanity to let them frequently out; in which case the certain and immediate use which these wretches make of their liberty is to increase the number of beggars.

Sixthly, The proposal for amendment of their morals, by instilling into them notions of religion or morality, (a matter, as it appears to me, of the highest consequence,) is only consistent with the scheme of bringing them together; to which scheme indeed all the rules and orders of this plan are directed, and with which alone they will, on examination, be found

compatible. Everything, therefore, which I shall say on the present occasion, may be applied as an additional reason on this head.

And in this case authority will be found to be on the same side with reason. My Lord Chief Justice Hale, perceiving that the poor of a single parish could not be well provided for by themselves, advises a coalition of several parishes for this purpose. This was clearly seeing the defect in the Statute of Elizabeth, though it was not carrying the remedy far enough.

The author of an essay on the Bills of Mortality (said to be the famous Sir William Petty, under the borrowed name of Graunt,) having discoursed on the evil of beggars, of reforming their morals, curing their impotencies, and teaching them to work according to the condition and capacity of every individual, concludes in these words, but I say none of these can be effected without bringing them together; or, if it could be effected at all, neither so well nor so cheaply.[1]

The great Sir Josiah Child (for great, in his province, he certainly was) proposes, "that the city of London and Westminster, borough of

[1] "Natural and Political Observations . . . . upon the Bills of Mortality," by John Graunt. Chap. iii. [These words quoted do not appear in the place referred to, either in the original edition, 1662, or the 5th edition, 1676.—Ed.]

Southwark, and all other places within the usual lines of communication, described in the weekly bills of mortality, may, by Act of Parliament, be associated into one province, or line of communication, for relief of the poor."

He proceeds, among other powers to be given to his corporation, that they, "and such as they shall authorize, may have power to purchase lands, erect and endow work-houses, hospitals, and houses of correction," &c.

Here is almost as populous, if not as large a district, as the county of Middlesex itself. It is true he doth not expressly mention the bringing these workhouses, hospitals, and houses of correction, together into one place; but this will appear, I think, to have been his intention, or he would not have concluded in the following manner:—

"If it be here objected to the whole purpose of this treatise that this work may as well be done in distinct parishes, if all parishes were obliged to build work-houses and employ their poor therein; as Dorchester and some others have done with good success.

"I answer that such attempts have been made in many places to my knowledge, with very good intents and strenuous endeavours; but all that ever I heard of proved vain and ineffectual, ... except that single instance of the town of Dorchester, which yet signifies nothing in relation to the kingdom in general,

. . . . . nor doth the town of Dorchester entertain any but their own poor only, and whip away all others; whereas that which I design is to propose such a foundation as shall be large, wise, honest, and rich enough to maintain and employ all poor that come within the pale of their communication, without enquiring where they were born," &c.[1]

These are great authorities and will, I doubt not, much more than counterbalance any opinions which can be produced on the other side, if indeed there are any such.

Lastly, experience, the instructor of those who can learn of no other master, might, of itself alone, convince us of the truth for which I am contending. I will not here repeat what I have said in the introduction, relating to the wretched state of the poor under the present establishment, all which may be urged as an argument on this head, since it will, I think, appear that the scattered state in which the poor were left by the Statute of Elizabeth is the principal reason why this law hath produced no better effect. It is true, indeed, the management of the poor was, by that Statute, intrusted to very improper hands; but this will not universally account for the evil, since many worthy and good men have, in divers places, taken upon themselves the charge of

[1] "A New Discourse of Trade," by Sir Josiah Child, chap. ii. [2nd Edit. 1694.]

the poor, and have employed much time and trouble therein to very little or no purpose. The true reason therefore that the poor have not yet been well provided for, and well employed, is that they have not yet been drawn together. Of this opinion were the great writers whom I have cited, and both reason and experience may convince us that the matter can be accomplished no other way.

But perhaps an objection may suggest itself of the contrary kind, and to which it may at first sight appear more difficult to give an answer. It will perhaps be said that I have computed the poor at too small a number, and have not proposed a method of providing for one half of them. Indeed if we are to estimate the poor by the overseers' books in the several parishes as they now stand, and add to these the inhabitants of Bridewell, with all those who ought to be inhabitants of that place, I readily grant I have not provided for half, nor perhaps for half a quarter of the poor of this county. But the objector will be pleased to observe that a great number of the latter part do not properly belong to this county, but are vagabonds from all parts of the kingdom—witness the great expense to which this county is put by passing one in a hundred, perhaps, back to their own homes. Some of these are at present drawn hither, from those counties where their labour is often wanted,

by the great encouragement which this town affords to beggars and thieves. Others come up with honester views at first; in which, being commonly disappointed, they betake themselves to the same means of procuring the bread of idleness: but when, instead of such alluring prospects, a work-house or a Bridewell shall present itself to their eyes, this swarm, it may easily be supposed, will soon cease, and the two houses will be little filled with such vagabonds. And as to the proper poor of the county when we deduct the aged, the infant, and the accidentally impotent, who are not the objects of my plan, the building proposed will perhaps be found capable of receiving the rest. But let us allow the objection its full force, and what doth it assert? Why, that there are more able poor in the county of Middlesex who are at present idle, though capable of being employed, than I have provided an accommodation for. The result of this would certainly be that the means of accommodation should be enlarged; and this I apprehend, if it should appear to be necessary, may very easily be effected.

III. *Men and women to be kept separate.*] The utility of this provision needs no comment: our present houses of correction, for want of this regulation, are places of the most infamous and profligate debauchery.

IV. &c. to the IX. inclusive.] These are only

loose sketches of what it may perhaps be unnecessary to insert in the bill, and which may be left to the discretion of those to whom the legislature shall think proper to intrust the care of the building. The nomination of the commissioners I likewise submit to the legislature.

XI. *A sum to be raised.*] I have not ventured to particularize any sum, but it must undoubtedly be a large one. And yet, large as it will be, when we consider the great utility proposed of effectually providing for the poor, and of relieving the public from beggars and thieves, it must appear moderate or even trifling.

But farther: It is not only the redress of an evil, by the relieving the poor from their misery, and the public from the poor, which is the object of this plan; much of positive good is designed by it to the society. If six thousand hands, which now sit idle, can be employed, the advantages resulting hence to the public need not be explained to any who have the least notion of trade, or of the benefits arising from it.

An excellent writer on our constitution observes, that of the three main supports of the riches of a people, two of them consist in improving their natural commodities, and in setting the poor to work. The former, indeed, is only the consequence of the latter; nay, as he himself says, "the improvement of the natural commodity" can never "enrich the kingdom, so long as many mouths are fed upon the main

stock, and waste the same by idleness and prodigality."[1]

The great Mr. Law, in his little treatise called "Money and Trade Considered," explains this more fully. His words are these: "An addition to the money adds to the value of the country. So long as money gives interest it is employed; and money employed brings profit, though the employer loses. *Ex.* If fifty men are set to work, to whom 25*s.* is paid per day, and the improvement made by their labour be only equal to, or worth, 15*s.*, yet by so much the value of the country is increased; but as it is reasonable to suppose their labour equal to 40*s.* so much is added to the value of the country; of which the employer gains 15*s.*, 15*s.* may be supposed to equal the consumption of the labourers, who before lived on charity, and 10*s.* remains to them over their consumption."[2]

Nor will it bear, I think, any rational doubt, whether employments may be found for this, or indeed a much larger number of hands. Sir William Petty, in that excellent work called his "Political Arithmetic," affirms, and proves too, that there were in his days spare hands among the king's subjects to earn two millions

[1] N. Bacon's "Discourse of the Laws and Government of England," part ii., p. 40. (1682.)

[2] "Money and Trade Considered," by John Law, pp. 11, 12. (2nd Edit. 1720.)

more than was actually earned. He farther affirms that there was two millions' worth of work to be done, which the king's subjects did neglect to do;[1] for without this latter could be proved the former, as he himself admits, would serve to little consequence.

Now the number of hands here to be provided for may surely be computed at a very low rate (for so I would make the computation) to do, one with another, work to the value of ten pounds *per annum;* this will amount to £60,000, the advantage of which to the public will be readily acknowledged. Here then the evil of the poor will not only be removed, but it will be converted into a very great emolument.

But there is yet another light in which this sum may perhaps appear more palatable; and that is by comparing it with the sum now paid to the poor-rate, which in this county of Middlesex amounts annually to upwards of £70,000, as I am informed: of which five parts in six are, I believe, applied to the use of those poor who are the objects of the law proposed in this plan.

They are the able poor, either such as cannot procure work or such as will not do it, who are the great burdens of the society. Of those who are absolutely impotent the number is truly inconsiderable. Sir William Petty, whom I shall beg leave to cite once more, in his

[1] "Political Arithmetic," chap. viii.

"Political Anatomy of Ireland,"[1] computes that "there is in nature but one in five hundred at most who are blind, lame, and under incurable impotence," as old age, &c. To every individual of these he allows six pounds *per annum;* which, he says, would maintain them without scandal: a very large allowance, when we consider the place of which he speaks and the time in which he wrote. A less sum would, I believe, answer the purpose among us.

According to this computation, if the people in Middlesex amount to 1,200,000, the impotent poor will be 2,400; the expense of maintaining which number will be £13,600. The above excellent author estimates the children under seven years of age at the rate of one fourth of the people: these then, according to my estimate in Middlesex, will be 300,000. Of these, I presume, not above one in 150[2] will be a burden on the public. This number, then, will be 3,000; for whom three pounds each, one with another, will be sufficient, and which will make the sum of £9,000. The whole expense, therefore of the impotent poor in Middlesex will be £22,600; about the fourth part of what it now is. And if the number of hospitals, infirmaries, and various donative charities within this county

[1] "Political Survey of Ireland," p. 11. (2nd Edit. 1719.)

[2] There is a slip in his calculation; probably he meant to say one in a hundred.—Ed.

of Middlesex do not reduce this sum, so as to bring the whole expense to one sixth part of what it now is, I am greatly deceived, or those must be grossly misapplied.

I have endeavoured in a former essay[1] to shew that such objects as these, so cheaply to be provided for, might with great safety be left to voluntary contributions: nor shall I add anything more to the arguments I have there used, especially as this part of our poor have since fallen under the consideration of two very honourable and learned persons, for whom I have a very high respect and esteem.

If either of these bills, with that proposed in this plan, should pass into a law the poor rate would then entirely cease of course; and the Statute of Elizabeth, with all laws for providing for the poor as to this county, might be utterly repealed. The same indeed would be the case if the impotent poor were trusted to voluntary contributions, as they possibly might; though with less advantage to the public, especially as to the education of the infants, which is a valuable part in the schemes of those honourable persons.

I conclude this head therefore with asserting (for so I surely may) that whoever considers my plan only in this last respect, and compares the expense proposed in it with that which is

[1] "An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers, &c.," 1751.

at present annually incurred, must view the sum of £100,000 (beyond which the whole expense of building, furnishing, and providing all kind of implements, will not rise) as a trifling sum, well laid out in a cheap and valuable purchase. Private interest, from this respect alone, will to every wise man recommend a scheme, by which he may propose to be so great a gainer, to his fullest consideration; and this motive, in proportion as he is a good man, will be greatly enhanced by those arguments which relate to the public. There are none so stupid as not to prefer the payment of twenty pounds once to the yearly payment of that sum; and few so entirely void of all public spirit, as to be totally indifferent whether that money which is levied on them be applied to the good of the community, or squandered away, as it now is, to no manner of purpose.

If there be any enemies therefore to my plan, they must be such only as doubt its efficacy. To these I answer, that absolute certainty, with regard to a future event, is not in the nature of human affairs: but let them examine the plan with fairness, impartiality, and candour; let them well and duly weigh every part of it, and I am greatly deceived if the result will not be a strong opinion of the probability of its success; though indeed a very small degree of this probability would, in our present

situation, be almost a sufficient encouragement to the undertaking.

I have hitherto supposed that this sum was to be immediately raised, among the present inhabitants of Middlesex, by an additional poor-rate: but this is not necessary; for as the benefit of this plan is to extend to posterity, it is equitable that they should contribute towards the expense. If the money therefore was granted by a vote of credit, at three and a half *per cent.*, and only a twentieth or thirtieth part of the principal paid off yearly with the interest, the annual charge on the county would be so small that it would scarce be felt; nay, perhaps, if this was done by way of lottery, it might be so contrived as to reduce the whole expense to little or nothing.

XII. *The appointment of officers.*] Any alteration may be made with regard to these, if it shall appear proper. The number, I think, which I have here mentioned will not be found extravagant, any more than the salaries allotted to each, when we consider the trust which they are severally to undertake.

XIII. *The powers of the Governor.*] Perhaps some further powers may be found necessary: as to that of holding a market, &c., such open sale of the commodities will give great encouragement to the labourers, and may be moreover one means of preventing frauds, which, in all public institutions, can never be

too well guarded against—too often, or too strictly, enquired in o—or too severely punished.

Par. XIV. &c. to XXII. Who to be sent or admitted in the county-house, &c., with the manner of sending them.

XVI. *Persons accused of petty larceny to be committed to the said houses, &c.*] By the common law petty larceny is felony, and it is not within the power of the magistrate to compound the offence, though it be ever so trifling, or the party should appear to be in the highest degree an object of mercy. The prisoner is therefore to be committed to gaol, where he must often lie in Middlesex many weeks, in other counties many months, before he is brought to his trial. During this time his morals, however bad, are farther corrupted; his necessities, however pressing before, are increased; his family, if he hath any, made more wretched; and the means of providing for himself and them rendered more difficult, if not impossible, for the future, by the total loss of his character. If he be acquitted on his trial—as he often is by the mercy of the jury—against clear and positive evidence, he is again turned loose among the community with all the disadvantages I have mentioned above; to which, if he be convicted and whipt, I may add the circumstance of infamy; the marks of which he will be sure to

carry on his forehead, though the hangman very seldom, I believe, leaves any on his back. What must be the situation of this wretch I need not mention; such in truth it is that his second theft is in reality less criminal than the first. This was perhaps choice; but that will be necessity. A late Act of Parliament hath indeed put it in the power of the court to transport these pilferers; but this, though probably it may be real mercy, hath such an appearance of extreme severity that few judges are willing to inflict such a punishment on such an offence. But if it should be the interest of a wretch in these circumstances to be banished from a country, where he must steal or starve, it is scarce the interest of the public to lose every year a great number of such able hands. By the means I have proposed it seems to me, that the offender will receive a punishment proportionable to his offence; he and his family may be preserved from utter ruin, and an able member, instead of being entirely lost to the public, will be rendered more useful to it than he was before.

XVII. *That it shall be lawful to seize all suspicious persons, &c.*] I have observed in another place[1] that though we have had several laws against vagrants, by which many misdemeanors have been called and constituted acts of vagrancy; yet vagrancy itself, or wandering about from

[1] "Enquiry into . . . Increase of Robbers, &c."

place to place, is not of itself alone punishable. This is an egregious defect in this part of our constitution, and hath been one great cause of the increase of beggars and thieves. To prevent the wandering of the poor was the great purpose, as I have shewn, of the laws of Alfred. It was this which gave that strength and energy to those institutions which have been praised by so many pens, both of lawyers and historians. Hence it was that travellers, as we are told, might pass through the whole kingdom with safety; nay, that bracelets of gold might be hung up in the public roads, and found at a distant time by the owner in the place where they were left. Upon these principles I have formed this clause; and without it, I will venture to say, no laws whatever for the suppression of thieves and beggars will be found effectual.

I should scarce apprehend, though I am told I may, that some persons should represent the restraint here laid on the lower people as derogatory from their liberty. Such notions are indeed of the enthusiastical kind, and are inconsistent with all order and all government. They are the natural parents of that licentiousness which it is one main intent of this whole plan to cure—which is necessarily productive of most of the evils of which the public complains; of that licentiousness, in a word, which among the many mischiefs introduced by it

into every society where it prevails, is sure at last to end in the destruction of liberty itself.

As the clause now stands I have drawn it with much caution, and have qualified it with such restrictions that I own I cannot see any inconvenience which can possibly attend it; if any such should appear it may be qualified yet farther. But if we must on no account deprive even the lowest people of the liberty of doing what they will, and going where they will, of wandering and drunkenness, why should we deny them that liberty which is but the consequence of this? I mean that of begging and stealing, of robbing or cutting throats at their good pleasure: for, if these be evils, they cannot be effectually abolished but by some such law as this; a law which hath not only the sanction of such an authority as Alfred, but of an Act of Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

XVIII. *The poor to travel with a pass.*] This method of permitting the poor to go abroad to work, &c., under a pass, is taken from an Act of Parliament of Elizabeth. I have through this plan proposed short precedents of orders, &c., a method which it would be well if the legislature would pursue in all Acts relating to the office of a Justice of Peace.

XX. *Poor to be passed to the county-house.*] Though every commitment by the magistrate may carry with it some notion of delinquency, yet

I would not have the county-house supposed to be a place of infamy, or a confinement there to be so much intended for punishment as preservation. It is true indeed that I have, to avoid confusion, left it in the breast of the magistrate to which house he will commit; but surely he will never extend this discretionary power so far as to send persons to the county-house who are convicted of any higher crimes than barely wandering and idleness; which are not infamous in themselves, and therefore should not, nay, cannot be rendered so by any punishment. The county-house is indeed a place contrived for the promotion of industry only, and is therefore a proper asylum for the industrious of their own accord to fly to for protection.

XXIII. to XLI. inclusive. The method of receiving the poor, putting them to work, and ordering them in these houses.

XXIII. *Double entry to be made.*] Through this whole plan I have endeavoured as much as possible to guard against fraud, to which human nature without proper checks is but too liable.

XXIV. *None to depart, &c.*] As it would be hard absolutely to confine volunteers like prisoners, so on the other hand it would be altogether inconvenient to give such persons full right of rambling where they please. This might fill the highways with thieves and beg-

gars, and one great evil which the plan intends to abolish might be increased by it.

XXV. *A badge to be worn.*] As persons sent hither by the Justices must be supposed guilty of some crime—idleness at least—it may be proper to distinguish them from those labourers who are entirely guiltless. And this distinction is moreover necessary, to inform the officers whom they are to let out at their pleasure.

XXVI. *Prisoners to be confined on bread and water, during twenty-four hours.*] Scarce any person will be committed hither who would not by the law as it now stands have been committed to Bridewell, where the allowance is no more than a penny loaf a day, with water. To be confined, therefore, with such sustenance for twenty-four hours cannot be well thought a severe punishment. The particular reason why I have inserted it here is that the party, before he be let loose among the other prisoners, should be perfectly cool; which is seldom the case when profligate persons are brought before the Justice, and by him committed to the house of correction. And if, at the expiration of that term, the prisoner should still retain any signs of outrageous reprobacy it will be much more proper to confine him by himself, than to suffer him to reinfect those who may possibly have made some advancement in their cure. And indeed there can be no more effectual means of bringing most abandoned profli-

gates to reason and order, than those of solitude and fasting; which latter especially is often as useful to a diseased mind as to a distempered body. To say truth this is a very wholesome punishment, and is not liable to those ill consequences which are produced by punishments attended with shame: for by once inflicting shame on a criminal we for ever remove that fear of it, which is one very strong preservative against doing evil. Indeed, however this may have been admitted into the punishments of all countries, it appears to me to contain in it no less absurdity than that of taking away from the party all sense of honour, in order to make him a good man.

XXVII. *Prayers every morning, &c.*] Nothing can, I think, appear more strange than the policy of appointing a chaplain to Newgate, and none to Bridewell. On a religious account it is surely very fit to have a proper person for preparing men for death; but in a political view it must seem most extremely absurd to provide for the regulation of those morals in which the society are no longer concerned, and entirely to neglect the correction and amendment of persons who are shortly to be let loose again among the public, and who are even confined for the purpose of correction. The correction of the body only was doubtless not the whole end of the institution of such houses; and yet it must be allowed a great defect in

that institution to leave the correction of the mind to the same hands. In real truth religion is alone capable of effectually executing this work. This Solomon asserted long ago; and the excellent Archbishop Tillotson, in a sermon on his words, which Solomon might have himself preached, hath very nobly expatiated on the subject:—

"Religion," says he, "hath a good influence upon the people; to make them obedient to government, and peaceable one towards another:

"To make them obedient to government, and conformable to laws: and that not only for wrath, and out of fear of the magistrate's power—which is but a weak and loose principle of obedience, and will cease whenever men can rebel with safety and to advantage—but out of conscience, which is a firm, and constant, and lasting principle, and will hold a man fast when all other obligations will break. He that hath entertained the true principles of Christianity is not to be tempted from his obedience and subjection by any worldly considerations; because he believes that 'whosoever resisteth authority resisteth the ordinance of God,' and that 'they who resist shall receive to themselves damnation.'

"Religion tends to make men peaceable one towards another; for it endeavours to plant all those qualities and dispositions in men which

tend to peace and unity, and to fill men with a spirit of universal love and good will. It endeavours likewise to secure every man's interest, by commanding the observation of that great Rule of Equity: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them'—by enjoining that truth and fidelity be inviolably observed in all our words, promises, and contracts; and, in order hereunto, it requires the extirpation of all those passions and vices which render men unsociable and troublesome to one another; as pride, covetousness, and injustice, hatred, and revenge, and cruelty; and those likewise which are not so commonly reputed vices, as self-conceit and peremptoriness in a man's own opinion, and all peevishness and incompliance of humour in things lawful and indifferent.

"And that these are the proper effects of true piety, the doctrine of our Saviour and His apostles everywhere teacheth us. Now if this be the design of religion to bring us to this temper—thus to heal the natures of men and to sweeten their spirits, to correct their passions, and to mortify all those lusts which are the causes of enmity and division—then it is evident that in its own nature it tends to the peace and happiness of human society; and that, if men would but live as religion requires they should do, the world would be a quiet habitation, a most lovely and desirable place,

in comparison of what now it is. And indeed the true reason why the societies of men are so full of tumult and disorder, so troublesome and tempestuous, is because there is so little of true religion among men; so that were it not for some small remainders of piety and virtue which are yet left scattered among mankind, human society would in a short space disband and run into confusion, the earth would grow wild and become a great forest, and mankind would become beasts of prey one towards another." &c.[1]

So far this great preacher, the truth of whose doctrine I might confirm by quotations from almost every good writer who hath treated of the rules and laws of society, as well as by the example of all those legislators by whom the several societies, which have ever been extant in the world, were first instituted; and therefore, as the learned Diodorus long since observed, all great law-givers, among whom he includes Moses, derived their commissions from Heaven, and mixt religious rites with civil institutions, well knowing how necessary the former were to strengthen and give a proper sanction to the latter. Nay the very deist and atheist himself, if such a monster there be, must acknowledge the truth of this doc-

[1] Sermon III. "The Advantage of Religion to Societies," Prov. xiv. 34. [Tillotson's Works, vol. i., pp. 100-102, 8vo edit., 1757.]

trine; since those who will not allow religion to be a divine, must at least confess that it is a political, institution, and designed by the magistrate for the purpose of guarding his authority and of reducing the people to obedience; "therefore," says the learned archbishop, "magistrates have always thought themselves concerned to cherish religion, and to maintain in the minds of men the belief of a God and another life. Nay, that common suggestion of atheistical persons, that religion was at first a politic device, and is still kept up in the world as a state-engine to awe men into obedience, is a clear acknowledgment of the usefulness of it to the ends of government," &c.[1]

Indeed if this solemn truth wanted any further proof, it might be easy to make a melancholy experiment of it on the present occasion; since whoever should attempt, without the assistance of what I here contend for, to preserve any order or decency among such a body of people as is proposed to assemble together, would, I am convinced, find himself very egregiously and perhaps very unfortunately mistaken. If indeed such a body of men could be kept together at all, and restrained from the most violent and inordinate outrages, this could be only effected by a strong and constant military force; in short by the same degree of co-

[1] Ibid. [p. 103].

ercion as would restrain the fury of wild beasts, which are possibly as easy to be governed as wild men.

That religion is a very cold and unavailing motive to action in the world is, I am afraid, neither easy to be denied nor difficult to account for. Some there are who are too wise (I mean in their own opinions) to believe any of the truths of it; many more are too far immersed in the pursuits of business or pleasure; and many, almost all indeed who are the objects of this plan, very seldom or never hear the word religion mentioned; but heaven and hell when well rung in the ears of those who have not yet learnt that there are no such places, and who will give some attention to what they hear, are by no means words of little or no signification. Hope and fear, two very strong and active passions, will hardly find a fuller or more adequate object to amuse and employ them; this more especially in a place where there will be so little of temptation to rouse or to gratify the evil inclinations of human nature; where men will find so few of those good things of this world, for which the other is every day bartered; and where they will have no encouragement, from the example of their betters, to make so prudent an exchange. In such a place, and among such a people, religion will, I am satisfied, have a very strong influence in correcting the morals of men; and I

am no less persuaded that it is religion alone which can effectually accomplish so great and so desirable a work.

XXVIII., XXIX. Need no explanation, but may be altered as the legislature pleases.

XXX. *The keepers, &c., to report the evil or good behaviour of the labourers.*] Though it be the duty of every man to obey the laws of his country, and no man is entitled to any reward for the performance of his duty: and therefore legislators are not to be accused of severity in annexing punishment to the breach of their laws, while they have assigned no reward to the obedient: however I am inclined to think they have not omitted the latter so much from this persuasion, as from foreseeing the great difficulties in which it would have involved them; for though it be impossible in large and extended societies to preserve a general course as well of rewarding as punishing, yet the wisest governments have endeavoured as far as in them lies to avail themselves of the force of allurement as well as of terror. Hence that indulgence in all nations to the wealth and luxury of their great men, which Gallus Asinius in Tacitus calls *delenimenta curarum et periculorum.* Hence all those titles and honours with which politicians have baited for the ambition of mankind, and hence, when the public stock could afford no more of real value, those gew-gaw trifling distinctions which, in spite of all the

ridicule of the witty and scorn of the wise, the greedy appetite of vanity will be always ready to swallow.

In large societies, however, all these can reach but a little way, and can be shared by very few. Of great armies scarce the hundredth part can partake of any reward for the most notable exploits and most complete victories. The rest must content themselves with the consciousness of having done their duty, and of having escaped that punishment to which cowardice would have subjected them, and of which they fail not of seeing sufficient examples.

I much question whether the outrageous indecency of the lowest part of mankind among us can be derived from a truer cause than this. As they have no hopes of reward, be they as good as they will, why should we wonder that they are as bad as they can be, when they have no fear of incurring punishment? And very bad indeed they may often be, without any such danger. For their idleness, at least, this will very sufficiently account. From this there is neither hope of public reward to allure, nor fear of public punishment to deter. What wonder, then, if those who are inclined to idleness should indulge their inclination, and betake themselves to begging? a better trade, perhaps, than any to which industry can tempt them to turn their hands.

Now, in the society here proposed, there will be no less opportunity of rewarding industry than of punishing idleness; nor need these rewards be very expensive to the public chest, since they will be so extremely honourable to those who receive them. By a very moderate and judicious distribution of such rewards for industry, and a very gentle infliction of punishment for idleness, I make no doubt but that in the county-house the former might be rendered as honourable, and the latter as infamous, as any virtue and vice have ever been held in any nation upon earth.

XXXI. The utility and, I think, necessity of this paragraph may be suffered to speak for itself; and so shall the two next.

XXXIV. *Money to be advanced, &c.*] As many of the persons to be committed hither, or who may voluntarily come hither, will possibly be penniless some advancement to them will be necessary for their support. The *quantum* is submitted to the legislature, as well as the method which I have proposed for the repayment.

XXXV. *Prisoners to be allowed one shilling weekly.*] This is somewhat less than twopence *per diem*, which is much larger than the present Bridewell allowance; but as the intent is that they shall be really kept to hard labour, it will be necessary to support them somewhat better than when they were suffered to remain in idleness.

XXXVI. *Deductions to be made, &c.*] As the society have a right to the labour of delinquents by way of punishment, allowing them only a necessary support; and as they here exercise this right in the case of those who are committed to the house of correction; so the defalcation from persons committed to the county-house will, I believe, appear very reasonable; as these are in some degree offenders, and the objects at least of some small punishment. As to the deduction of one penny from the volunteers it should be considered as a reasonable price for lodging, fire, candles, &c., which are here provided for them.

XXXVII. *The receiver to make up his accounts after every sale.*] I have endeavoured to shut out fraud as much as possible through this whole plan; if any stronger bars can be added I hope they will.

XXXVIII. *An account to be kept in separate pages.*] In order to have these accounts well and often inspected they must be rendered easy. The method I have chalked out was the best I could invent for this purpose; but perhaps a much better may be found by some who are more versed in these matters.

XXXIX. The several branches of this paragraph need no comment.

XL. *The labourers to be instructed in all kinds of manufactures.*] Upon the right management of the power given in this paragraph depends, in

a great measure, the utility of the whole plan, and the improvement of those advantages which I propose from bringing the poor together. It is this principally which will require great capacity in the Governor; and that he should be always a man of much knowledge and experience. Which qualifications if he should possess, and will do his duty in applying them, I doubt not but most of the advantageous manufactures of Europe may be by these means introduced into the nation.

XLII. to XLVI. inclusive. Crimes with their punishment.

XLII., XLIII. As the crimes mentioned in these two paragraphs must be guarded against with the utmost precaution the punishment of them cannot possibly be less than that *ultimum supplicium* which is here allotted to them. This, I think, no man can have any doubt of who considers the numbers and nature of the people here to be assembled. The same consideration will remove all appearance of severity from the punishments inflicted in the 44th and 45th paragraphs.

XLVI. The persons who are here to be transported seem of all others the most proper objects of that punishment. This, however, some of them may possibly avoid by the alternative proposed, which is perhaps the only method of converting a fellow to some use who would

be otherwise good for nothing. It is to be hoped that the military gentlemen will, on this occasion, depart a little from their usual nicety with regard to the morals of their recruits; since a man may have great military qualifications, and may yet be very properly turned out of a civil society.

XLIX. This is taken from the last Gin Act, with little variation, and is of the utmost consequence to all the purposes of this plan.

L., LI., LII. Are submitted without any comment.

LIII. *Judicial power of the Governor, &c.*] Nothing conduces more to the good order of any society than the moderate punishment of small offences; this is properly called correction, since by it the manners of the party are often corrected and he is prevented from the commission of greater crimes. Such punishments should be always attended with reproof, and an endeavour to persuade the offender that he is corrected only for his own good. It must be remembered, however, that they are the better and milder dispositions which are to be much amended this way; and therefore shame should as little as possible be mixed with such correction. The articles here submitted to the Governor's jurisdiction are for the most part peccadilloes, and therefore he can scarce be too mild or moderate in his correction for the first offence, especially if attended with contri-

tion. Indeed his power of punishing here is but small, and savours more of a master than a magistrate. On a second offence he may be a little more severe, and it may commonly be proper to go to the extent of his power. But a third offence of the same kind, and within the time limited, argues an incorrigible temper, and savours of the spirit of resistance to government: here he punishes as a magistrate, and the punishment is of the exemplary kind; tending rather to raise terror in others than to work the reformation of the party himself.

Among other powers the Governor hath that of regulating the price of provisions. The method of supplying the labourers with these is a problematical question; and it may admit of much debate whether it would be better to provide for them, or to suffer them to provide for themselves. In behalf of the former method it may be urged, that many persons joining together in a mess may be provided for at a much cheaper rate than the same number separately.

2. That possibly they may not of themselves choose to join; and it may therefore be proper to compel them by a coercive power.

3. That if they should for the most part agree to mess together, the savings on that account should be preserved to the use of the house.

4. That some of them, when they are masters of their own money will choose to stint them-

selves of food, in order to be more plentifully supplied with drink; which besides causing disorders, will tend to weaken their bodies, to incapacitate them for labour, and render them sickly, &c.

On the other side it may be answered: 1. That allowing the expediency of their messing together, it can hardly be supposed but that in such a body sufficient numbers will always be found for that purpose.

2. That when this is voluntary it will be much more eligible than when it is by coercion; which, where the spirits of men are so fired with freedom as in this nation, is never submitted to in small and unaccustomed matters without uneasiness and heart-burning.

3. That by the power of constantly regulating the prices of provisions, condescending to particularize every minute article, there will be little difference between employing servants or employing suttlers in the manner as is here appointed; and the latter will be attended with much the less confusion.

4. That the liberty of providing for themselves at their own discretion, and of laying out their own money, is but a reasonable liberty; and the refusal of it savours too much of the treatment of children. Nor is it without some tincture of injustice, for those who eat less will by such means be obliged to pay equally with those who eat more.

5. That as to the restraint from laying out too much of their money in drink, this restraint seems needless while they receive the allowance of the house; and when, by their own industry, they become possessed of money it will be altogether as ineffectual. Besides, proper care is taken on this head, by absolutely prohibiting the introduction of spirituous liquors, and by punishing any kind of drunkenness.

Upon the whole, the method here proposed seems to me the better; but perhaps it will be most proper to leave this matter open to the discretion of the Governor and sessions, who may act therein as they shall find most convenient.

LIV. *The jurisdiction of the sessions.*] I submit this whole paragraph, with any alterations in it which may be thought proper, without a comment: nor doth the residue of the plan seem to want any explanation.

Thus have I laid my plan before the public, with all that I have to say in its support or recommendation. They will, as they please, receive it in the whole or in part; will alter, amend, or entirely reject it, at their discretion. Whatever shall be the fate of my labour it will not find me quite unprepared; and though my plan should be treated by some as an impossible, by others as an absurd or ridiculous

scheme, it will neither spoil my stomach nor break my rest. I do not affect an absolute or stoical indifference on this occasion; I mean no more than to be as little solicitous as it is possible about events, whatever trouble I have taken in using the means—a temper of mind for which I am not a little obliged to my great master's advice:

> Quem sors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
> Appone.[1]

And again:

> Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.[2]

The forming which into a general precept, and then reducing that precept into a habit, hath cost me more pains than I have employed in composing the foregoing pages; nor is the former labour thrown away, whatever may become of the latter.

Besides the fair opponents mentioned in the introduction, and those whom the imperfections of my plan may raise, I am to apprehend, I am well convinced, many who will be interested in the opposition. Some are enemies to all schemes whatever, and some to all schemes but their own; others there are who find an advantage in the present wretched state of the poor, and in the numerous laws concerning them. Lastly, I sometimes flatter myself that I have some few enemies; men

[1] Horace, Odes, I. 9. [2] Ibid., Epistles, I. 4.

who do me the honour of thinking better either of my parts, or of my fortune, than I do myself; and who consequently hate me from the only motive which can prompt a man to hate those who have done him no injury. These will, I presume, not only deny all merit to the execution of my design but to the design itself; and will discover that, instead of intending a provision for the poor, I have been carving out one for myself, and have very cunningly projected to build myself a fine house at the expense of the public. This would be to act in direct opposition to the advice of my above master; it would be indeed *struere domos immemor sepulchri.* Those who do not know me may believe this; but those who do will hardly be so deceived by that cheerfulness which was always natural to me, and which, I thank God, my conscience doth not reprove me for, to imagine that I am not sensible of my declining constitution. In real truth, if my plan be embraced, I shall be very easily recompensed for my trouble without any concern in the execution. Ambition or avarice can no longer raise a hope, or dictate any scheme to me, who have no farther design than to pass my short remainder of life in some degree of ease, and barely to preserve my family from being the objects of any such laws as I have here proposed.

Note. There are several little mistakes in the foregoing proposals, such as *his* or *her* for *their*, and *vicè versâ;* which escaped correction in the hurry in which this pamphlet was printed: they will, it is hoped, be excused in a rough sketch, where the author intends only to convey his meaning to be amended and improved, and not to form the regular draft of a law.

A CLEAR STATE OF THE CASE OF ELIZABETH CANNING,

Who hath sworn that she was Robbed and almost Starved to Death by a gang of Gypsies and other villains in January last, for which one Mary Squires now lies under Sentence of Death.

Quæ, quia sunt admirabilia, contraque opinionem omnium; tentare volui possentne proferri in lucem, et ita dici ut probarentur.

Cicero, Parad.

THE CASE OF
ELIZABETH CANNING,
ETC.

There is nothing more admirable, nor indeed more amiable, in the Law of England, than the extreme tenderness with which it proceeds against persons accused of capital crimes. In this respect it justly claims a preference to the institutions of all other countries; in some of which a criminal is hurried to execution, with rather less ceremony than is required, by our law, to carry him to prison; in many, the trials (if they may be called such) have little of form, and are so extremely precipitate that the unhappy wretch hath no time to make his defence, but is often condemned without well knowing his accuser, and sometimes without well understanding his accusation. In this happy kingdom, on the contrary, so tender is the Law of the life of a subject, so cautious of unjustly or erroneously condemning him, that, according to its own maxim, *De morte hominis nulla est cunctatio longa*, it proceeds by slow and regular gradations, and requires

so many antecedent ceremonies to the ultimate discussion of a court of justice, that so far from being in danger of a condemnation without a fair and open trial, every man must be tried more than once, before he can receive a capital sentence. By the Law of England, no man can be apprehended for felony, without a strong and just suspicion of his guilt; nor can he be committed to prison, without a charge on oath before a lawful magistrate. This charge must be again proved on oath, to the satisfaction of a large number (twelve at least) of the better sort of his countrymen; (except in the case of an Appeal of Felony, which is now obsolete, and where the proceedings are still more ceremonial and tedious;) before the accused can be required to answer to it, or be put on his defence; and after all these preparatives, the truth of this charge is to be tried in an open court of justice, before one at least and often many judges, by twelve indifferent and unexceptionable men: I may truly say unexceptionable, since it is in the prisoner's power to except against twenty-four without showing any cause, and as many more as he can show a reasonable cause of exception against. These, after a patient hearing of the witnesses against him, and after attending to his defence, (in the making which, the Law prescribes that every indulgence shall be shewn him, and that even his judge shall

be his counsel and assist him,) must all concur in declaring on their oaths, that he is guilty of the crime alledged against him; or he is to be discharged, and can never more be called in question for the same offence, save only in the case of murder.

It seems, I think, that the wit of man could invent no stronger bulwark against all injustice, and false accusation, than this institution, under which not only innocence may rejoice in its own security, but even guilt can scarce be so immodest as to require a fairer chance of escaping the punishment it deserves.

And yet, if after all this precaution it should manifestly appear that a person hath been unjustly condemned, either by bringing to light some latent circumstance, or by discovering that the witnesses against him are certainly perjured, or by any other means of displaying the party's innocence, the gates of mercy are still left open, and upon a proper and decent application, either to the judge before whom the trial was had, or to the Privy Council, the condemned person will be sure of obtaining a pardon, of preserving his life, and of regaining both his liberty and reputation.

To make, therefore, such an application on the behalf of injured innocence is not only laudable in every man, but it is a duty, the neglect of which he can by no means answer

to his own conscience: but this, as I have said, is to be done in a proper and decent manner, by a private application to those with whom the law hath lodged a power of correcting its errors and remitting its severity; whereas to resort immediately to the public by inflammatory libels against the justice of the nation, to establish a kind of Court of Appeal from this justice in the bookseller's shop, to re-examine in newspapers and pamphlets the merits of causes which, after a fair and legal trial, have already received the solemn determination of a Court of Judicature, to arraign the conduct of magistrates, of juries, and even judges, and this even with the most profligate indecency, are the effects of a licentiousness to which no government, jealous of its own honour, or indeed provident of its own safety, will ever indulge or submit to.

Sensible as I am of this, I should by no means become an aggressor of this kind; but surely when such methods have been used to mislead the public, and to censure the justice of the nation in its sagacity at least, and grossly to misrepresent their proceedings, it can require little apology to make use of the same means to refute so iniquitous an attempt. However unlawful a weapon may be in the hands of an assailant, it becomes strictly justifiable in those of the defendant: and as the judges will certainly excuse an undertaking

in defence of themselves, so may I expect that the Public (that part of it, I mean, whose esteem alone I have ever coveted or desired) should shew some favour to a design which hath in view not a bare satisfaction of their curiosity only, but to prevent them from forming a very rash, and, possibly, a very unjust judgment. Lastly, there is something within myself which rouses me to the protection of injured innocence, and which prompts me with the hopes of an applause much more valuable than that of the whole world.

Without this last motive, indeed, it may be imagined I should scarce have taken up my pen in the defence of a poor little girl, whom the many have already condemned. I well know the extreme difficulty which will always be found in obtaining a reversal of such a judgment. Men who have applauded themselves, and have been applauded by others, for their great penetration and discernment, will struggle very hard before they will give up their title to such commendation. Though they, perhaps, heard the cause at first with the impartiality of upright judges, when they have once given their opinion, they are too apt to become warm advocates, and even interested parties in defence of that opinion. Deplorable, indeed, and desperate is the case of a poor wretch against whom such a sentence is passed! No Writ of Error lies against this

sentence, but before that tremendous Court of the Public where it was first pronounced, and no court whatever is, for the reasons already assigned, so tenacious of the judgments which it hath once given.

In defiance, nevertheless, of this difficulty, I am determined to proceed to disclose, as far as I am able, the true state of an affair, which, however inconsiderable the parties may be in their station of life, (though injured innocence will never appear an inconsiderable object to a good mind,) is now become a matter of real concern and great importance to the public; against whom a most horrible imposture, supported by the most impudent as well as impious perjury is dressed up, either on the one side or on the other. To discover most manifestly on which side it lies seems to be within the power of the government, and it is highly incumbent on them to exert themselves on this occasion, in order that by the most exemplary punishment they may deter men from that dreadful crime of perjury, which in this case either threatens to make the sword of justice a terror to the innocent, or to take off all its edge from the guilty; which of these is it likeliest to do in the present instance, I will endeavour to assist the reader, at least, in forming a probable conjecture.

Elizabeth Canning, a young girl of eighteen years of age, who lived at Aldermanbury Pos-

tern, in the City of London, declares, That on Monday, the 1st of January last, she went to see her uncle and aunt, who are people of a very good character, and who live at Saltpetre Bank, near Rosemary Lane; that having continued with them till towards nine in the evening, her uncle and aunt, it being late, walked a great part of the way home with her; that soon after she parted with them, and came opposite to Bethlehem-gate in Moorfields, she was seized by two men who, after robbing her of half a guinea in gold, and three shillings in silver, of her hat, gown, and apron, violently dragged her into a gravel-walk that leads down to the gate of Bethlehem Hospital, about the middle of which one of the men, after threatening to do for her, gave her a violent blow with his fist on the right temple, that threw her into a fit, and entirely deprived her of her senses. These fits she says she hath been accustomed to; that they were first occasioned by the fall of a ceiling on her head; that they are apt to return upon her whenever she is frightened, and that they sometimes continue for six or seven hours; that when she came to herself she perceived that two men were hurrying her along in a large road-way, and that in a little time after she was recovered, she was able to walk alone; however, they still continued to pull and drag her along; that she was so intimidated by their usage

that she durst not call out, nor even speak to them; that in about half an hour after the recovery of her senses they carried her into an house where she saw in the kitchen an old Gypsy woman and two young women; that the old Gypsy woman took hold of her by the hand, and promised to give her fine clothes if she would go their way, which expression she understanding to mean the becoming a prostitute, she utterly refused to comply with; upon which the old Gypsy woman took a knife out of a drawer and cut the stays off this Elizabeth Canning, and took them away from her, at which time one of the men likewise took off her cap, and then both the men went away; that soon after they were gone, and about an hour after she had been in the house, the old Gypsy woman forced her up an old pair of stairs, and pushed her into a back room like a hay-loft, without any furniture whatsoever in the same, and there locked her up, threatening that, if she made the least noise or disturbance, the old Gypsy woman would come up and cut her throat, and then fastened the door on the outside and went away. She says, that when it was day-light, upon her looking round to see in what dismal place she was confined, she discovered a large black jug, with the neck much broken, filled with water, and several pieces of bread, amounting to about the quantity of a quartern loaf, scat-

tered on the floor, where was likewise a small parcel of hay. In this room, she says, she continued from that time till about half an hour after four of the clock in the afternoon of Monday, the 29th day of the same month of January, being in all twenty-seven days and upwards, without any other sustenance than the aforesaid bread and water, except one small mince-pie which she had in her pocket, which she was carrying home as a present to her little brother. She likewise says, that she had some part of this provision remaining on the Friday before she made her escape, which she did by breaking out at a window of the room or loft in which she was confined, and whence having escaped, she got back to her friends in London in about six hours, in a most weak and miserable condition, being almost starved to death, and without ever once stopping at any house or place by the way. She likewise says, that during her whole confinement no person ever came near her to ask her any question whatever, nor did she see any belonging to the house more than once, when one of the women peeped through a hole in the door, and that she herself was afraid to call or speak to anyone. All this she hath solemnly sworn before a magistrate and in a court of justice.

Such is the narrative of Elizabeth Canning, and a very extraordinary narrative it is, con-

sisting of many strange particulars resembling rather a wild dream than a real fact. First: it doth not well appear with what motive these men carried this poor girl such a length of way, or indeed that they had any motive at all for so doing. Secondly: that they should be able to do it is not very easy to believe; I do not mean that it is not within the strength of two men to carry a little girl (for so she is) ten miles, but that they could do this without being met, opposed, or examined by any persons in the much frequented roads near this town, is extremely strange and surprising. Thirdly: the Gypsy woman doth not seem to have had any sufficient motive to her proceedings. If her design was to make a prostitute, or a Gypsy, or both, of this poor girl, she would, in all probability, have applied to her during her confinement, to try what effect that confinement had produced. If her design was murder, she had many easier and better ways than by starving, or if she had chosen this method of destroying the girl, it seems impossible to account for the conveying to her that bread and water, which could serve for no other purpose but to lengthen out the misery of a wretch against whom the Gypsy woman had, as appears, no foundation whatever of anger or revenge, and might have increased the danger of discovering the whole villany. Fourthly: that Elizabeth Canning herself should have sur-

vived this usage, and all the terrors it must have occasioned, and should have been kept alive with no other sustenance than she declares she had, are facts very astonishing and almost incredible. Fifthly: that she should so well have husbanded her small pittance as to retain some of it till within two days of her escape, is another very surprising circumstance. Sixthly: that she should undergo all this hardship and fasting without attempting sooner to make her escape, or without perceiving the possibility of making it in the manner in which she at last says she did effect it, seems to be no less shocking to reason and common sense, Lastly: that, at the time when she dates this escape, she should have strength sufficient left, not only to break her prison in the manner she declares, but to walk eleven or twelve miles to her own home, is another fact which may very well stagger our belief, and is a proper close to this strange, unaccountable, and scarce credible story.

Thus have I set the several particulars of this narrative in as strong a light against the relator, and in one as disadvantageous to the credibility of her relation, as I think they can fairly be placed. Certain it is, that the facts seem at first to amount to the very highest degree of improbability, but I think that they do not amount to an impossibility; for, as to those objections which arise from the want of

a sufficient motive in the transactors of this cruel scene, no great stress I think can be laid on these. I might ask what possible motive could induce two ruffians, who were executed last winter for murder, after they had robbed a poor wretch who made no resistance, to return and batter his skull with their clubs, till they fractured it in almost twenty different places. How many cruelties, indeed, do we daily hear of, to which it seems not easy to assign any other motive than barbarity itself? In serious and sorrowful truth, doth not history, as well as our own experience, afford us too great reasons to suspect, that there is in some minds a sensation directly opposite to that of benevolence, and which delights and feeds itself with acts of cruelty and inhumanity? And if such a passion can be allowed any existence, where can we imagine it more likely to exist than among such people as these?

Besides, though to a humane and truly sensible mind such actions appear to want an adequate motive, yet to wretches very little removed, either in their sensations or understandings, from wild beasts, there may possibly appear a very sufficient motive to all that they did; such might be a desire of increasing the train of Gypsies, or of whores in the family of Mother Wells. One of these appears to have been the design of the Gypsy woman from the declaration of Elizabeth Canning, who, if she

had said nothing more improbable, would certainly have been intitled to our belief in this, though this design seems afterwards not to have been pursued. In short she might very possibly have left the alternative, with some indifference, to the girl's own option; if she was starved out of her virtue, the family might easily apprehend she would give them notice; if out of her life, it would be then time enough to convey her dead body to some ditch or dunghill, where, when it was found, it would tell no tales: possibly, however, the indifference of the Gypsy woman was not so absolute, but that she might prefer the girl's going her way, and this will account for her conveying to her that bread and water, which might give the poor girl a longer time to deliberate, and consequently the love of life might have a better chance to prevail over the love of virtue.

So much for the first and third objection arising from the want of motive, from which, as I observed above, no very powerful arguments can be drawn in the case of such wretches: as to the second objection, though I mentioned it as I would omit none, the reader, I presume, will lay so little weight upon it, that it would be wasting time to give it much answer. In reality, the darkness of the night at that season of the year, and when it was within two days of the new moon, with the indifference of most people to what doth not

concern themselves, and the terror with which all honest persons pass by night through the roads near this town, will very sufficiently account for the want of all interruption to these men in their conveyance of the poor girl.

With regard to the fourth objection, How she could survive this usage, &c.? I leave the degree of probability to be ascertained by the physicians. Possible, I think it is, and I contend for no more. I shall only observe here, that she barely did survive it, and that she, who left her mother in a plump condition, returned so like a spectre, that her mother fainted away when she saw her; her limbs were all emaciated, and the colour of her skin turned black, so as to resemble a state of mortification; her recovery from which state since, is a proof of that firm and sound constitution, which supported her, if she says true, under all her misery.

As to the fifth objection, she answers, that the cruel usage she had met with, and the condition she saw herself in, so affected both her mind and body, that she ate scarce anything during the first days of her confinement, and afterwards had so little appetite, that she could scarce swallow the hard morsels which were allotted her.

The sixth objection hath, in my opinion, so little in it, that had I not heard it insisted on by others, I should not myself have advanced

it; common experience every day teacheth us, that we endure many inconveniencies of life, while we overlook those ways of extricating ourselves, which, when they are discovered, appear to have been, from the first, extremely easy and obvious. The inference which may be drawn from this observation, a moderate degree of candour will oblige us to extend very far in the case of a poor simple child, under all the circumstances of weakness of body and depression and confusion of spirits, till despair, which is a quality that is ever increasing as its object increases, grew to the highest pitch, and forced her to an attempt which she had not before had the courage to undertake.

As to her accomplishing this, and being able to escape to her friends, the probability of this likewise I leave to the discussion of physicians: possible it surely is, and I question very much whether the degree of despair, which I have just mentioned, will not even make it probable; since this is known to add no less strength to the body than it doth to the mind, a truth which every man almost may confirm by many instances.

But if notwithstanding all I have here said, the narrative should still appear ever so improbable, it may yet become a proper object of our belief, from the weight of the evidence; for there is a degree of evidence by which every fact that is not impossible to have hap-

pened at all, or to have happened in the manner in which it is related, may be supported and ought to be believed. In all cases, indeed, the weight of evidence ought to be strictly conformable to the weight of improbability; and when it is so, the wiser a man is the sooner and easier he will believe. To say truth, to judge well of this conformity is what we truly call sagacity, and requires the greatest strength and force of understanding. He who gives a hasty belief to what is strange and improbable, is guilty of rashness; but he is much more absurd who declares that he will believe no such fact on any evidence whatever. The world are too much inclined to think that the credulous is the only fool; whereas, in truth, there is another fool of a quite opposite character, who is much more difficult to deal with, less liable to the dominion of reason, and possessed of a frailty more prejudicial to himself and often more detrimental to mankind in general.

To apply this reasoning to the present case, as we have, it is hoped, with great fairness and impartiality, stated all the improbabilities which compose this girl's narrative, we will now consider the evidence that supports them. And when we have done this, it will possibly appear, that the credulous person is he who believes that Elizabeth Canning is a liar.

First, then, there is one part of this story

which is incontestably true, as it is a matter of public notoriety, and known by almost every inhabitant in the parish where her mother dwells. This is, that the girl, after the absence of a month, returned on the 29th of January, in the dreadful condition above described. This being an established fact, a very fair presumption follows that she was confined somewhere, and by some person; that this confinement was of equal duration with her absence; that she was almost starved to death; that she was confined in a place whence it was difficult to make her escape; that, however, this escape was possible; and that, at length, she actually made it. All these are circumstances which arise from the nature of the fact itself. They are what Tully calls *evidentia rei*, and are stronger than the positive testimony of any witnesses; they do, indeed, carry conviction with them to every man who hath capacity enough to draw a conclusion from the most self-evident premises.

These facts being established, I shall oppose improbability to improbability, and first I begin by asking, Why did this girl conceal the person who thus cruelly used her? It could not be a lover; for among all the cruelties by which men have become infamous in their commerce with women, none of this kind can, I believe, be produced. What reason, therefore, can be assigned for this great degree of more than Chris-

tian forgiveness, of such barbarous usage, is to me, I own, a secret; such forgiveness, therefore, is at least as great a degree of improbability as any which can be found, or which can be feigned in her narrative.

Again, what motive can be invented for her laying this heavy charge on those who are innocent? That street-robbers and Gypsies, who have scarce even the appearance of humanity, should be guilty of wanton cruelty without a motive, hath greatly staggered the world, and many have denied the probability of such a fact: Will they then imagine that this girl hath committed a more deliberate, and, therefore, a more atrocious crime, by endeavouring to take away the lives of an old woman, her son, and another man, as well as to ruin another woman, without any motive whatever? Will they believe this of a young girl, hardly eighteen years old, who hath the unanimous testimony of all, who ever knew her from her infancy, to support the character of a virtuous, modest, sober, well-disposed girl; and this character most enforced by those who know her best, and particularly by those with whom she hath lived in service.

As to any motive of getting money by such an attempt, nothing can be more groundless and evidently false than the suggestion; the subscription which was proposed and publicly advertised, was thought of long after the girl's

return to her mother, upon which return she immediately told the story in the presence of numbers of people, with all the circumstances with which she hath since, without any variation, related it. The real truth is, that this subscription was set on foot by several well-disposed neighbours and very substantial tradesmen, in order to bring a set of horrid villains to justice, which then appeared (as it hath since proved) to be a matter which would be attended with considerable expense, nor was any reward to the girl then thought of; the first proposer of which reward was a noble and generous lord, who was present at the last examination of this matter in Bow-street: so that this charge of the Gypsy woman, and the rest, if a false one, was absolutely without any motive at all. A second improbability which rises as much higher than that to which it is opposed, as the crime would be higher, since it would be more deliberate in the girl, and as her character is better than that of street robbers and Gypsies.

Again, as the girl can scarce be supposed wicked enough, so I am far from supposing her witty enough to invent such a story; a story full of variety of strange incidents, and worthy the invention of some writer of romances, in many of which we find such kind of strange improbabilities that are the productions of a fertile, though commonly a distempered, brain;

whereas this girl is a child in years, and yet more so in understanding, with all the evident marks of simplicity that I ever discovered in a human countenance; and this I think may be admitted to be a third improbability.

A fourth seems to me to arise from the manner in which this poor simple girl hath supported this story; which, as it requires the highest degree of wickedness of heart, and some tolerable goodness of head to have invented, so doth it require no small degree of assurance to support; and that in large assemblies of persons of a much higher degree than she had ever before appeared in the presence of: before noblemen, and magistrates, and judges, persons who must have inspired a girl of this kind with the highest awe. Before all these she went through her evidence without hesitation, confusion, trembling, change of countenance, or other apparent emotion. As such a behaviour could proceed only from the highest impudence, or most perfect innocence, so it seemed clearly to arise from the latter, as it was accompanied with such a shew of decency, modesty, and simplicity, that if these were all affected, which those who disbelieve her must suppose, it must have required not only the highest art, but the longest practice and habit to bring it to such a degree of perfection.

A fifth improbability is, that this girl should fix on a place so far from home, and where it

doth not appear she had ever been before. Had she gone to this place of her own accord, or been carried thither by any other than the person she accused, surely Mother Wells would have told this, as it must have acquitted her of the fact laid to her charge, and would indeed have destroyed the whole character of Elizabeth Canning, and of consequence have put an end to the prosecution; but Mother Wells, on the contrary, denied absolutely that Elizabeth Canning had ever been in her house, or that she had ever seen her face before she came there with the peace officers.

In this point, viz.: That Elizabeth Canning was not acquainted with Mother Wells, or her house, nor ever there, in any other manner than as she herself hath informed us, her evidence stands confirmed by the best and strongest testimony imaginable, and that is by the declaration of the defendant Wells herself. It is true indeed, that as to her being confined there, Wells utterly denies it, but she as positively affirms that this Elizabeth Canning was never there at any other time, nor in any other manner. From this point then, so established, will result an utter impossibility; for unless this poor girl had been well acquainted with the house, the hay-loft, the pitcher, &c., how was it possible that she should describe them all so very exactly as she did, at her return to her mother's, in the presence of such numbers of

people? Nay, she described, likewise, the prospect that appeared from the hay-loft, with such exactness as required a long time to furnish her with the particulars of. I know but two ways of her being enabled to give this description; either she must have been there herself, or must have had her information from some other. As to the former, Wells herself denies it; and as to the latter, I leave to the conjecture of my ingenious reader, whether it was Mother Wells herself, the Gypsy woman, Virtue Hall, or who else that instructed Elizabeth Canning in all these particulars.

In the mean time, I shall beg leave to conclude, either that we must account for the girl's knowledge one of the ways which I have mentioned; or, secondly, we must believe an impossibility; or, thirdly, we must swallow the truth of this relation, though it be as hard a morsel as any which the poor girl fed on during her whole confinement.

And now I come to a piece of evidence which hath been the principal foundation of that credit which I have given to this extraordinary story. It appeared to me at first to be convincing and unsurmountable, in the same light it appeared to a gentleman whose understanding and sagacity are of the very first rate, and who is one of the best lawyers of his time; he owned that this evidence seemed to him to be unanswerable, so I acknowledge it yet seems

to me, and till it shall receive an answer, I must continue to believe the fact which rests upon it.

In order to lay this evidence before the reader in a fair and just light, it will be necessary to give a brief relation of the order of proceeding in this case, down to the time when Virtue Hall appeared first before me.

Upon the return of Elizabeth Canning to her mother's house in the manner above set forth, and upon the account which she gave of her unprecedented sufferings, the visible marks of which then appeared on her body, all her neighbours began to fire with resentment against the several actors concerned in so cruel a scene; and presently some of the most substantial of these neighbours proposed to raise a contribution amongst themselves, in order, if possible, to bring the villains who had injured this poor girl to exemplary justice: as soon therefore as she was able to bear the journey, they put her into a chaise, and, taking with them proper peace officers, conveyed the girl along the Hertford Road, to see if she was able to trace out the house where she had been confined: for she at that time knew not the name of the place, nor could she sufficiently describe the situation of Wells's house, though she had before so exactly described the inside of it. Possibly indeed she might never have been able to have discovered the house at all, had it not

been for a very extraordinary incident, and this was, that through the chinks or crevices of the boards of the hay-loft, she saw at a distance the Hertford stage coach pass by, the driver of which she knew, though he passed not near enough for her to call to him with any hopes of success, and by this extraordinary circumstance she came to know that the house stood on the Hertford Road.

When they arrived at this house the poor girl was taken out of the chaise, and placed on a table in the kitchen, where all the family passed in review before her; she then fixed on the Gypsy woman, whom she had very particularly described before, and who is, perhaps, the most remarkable person in the whole world; she charged likewise Virtue Hall, whose countenance likewise is very easy to be remembered by those who have once seen her.

The whole family, however, though no more were positively charged by Elizabeth Canning, being put all into a cart were conducted before Mr. Tyshemaker, who is a justice of the peace for the County of Middlesex, who, having first examined Elizabeth Canning alone, but without taking from her any information in writing, did afterwards examine all the parties, and in the end committed the Gypsy woman and Wells—the former for taking away the stays from Elizabeth Canning, and the latter for keeping a disorderly house.

And here the reader will be pleased to observe these facts:—

First: That Elizabeth Canning did not make any information in writing before this justice.

Secondly: That the history of the fact that she related to the justice was not in the presence of Virtue Hall.

Thirdly: That Elizabeth Canning, so cautious is she in taking her oath, declared that she could not swear to the Gypsy's son, as the men's hats were flapped over their faces in the house, and as when she was first assaulted it was so very dark, she could not distinguish their countenances, nor did she charge Wells with any crime at all, except that which resulted from the tenor of her whole evidence of keeping a disorderly house.

Lastly: That Virtue Hall did, at that time, absolutely deny that she knew anything of the matter, and declared that Elizabeth Canning had never been in Wells's house, to her knowledge, till that day, nor had she ever seen her face before; the consequence of which declaration was, that the Gypsy's son, whom this Virtue Hall hath since accused of the robbery, was discharged by Mr. Tyshemaker.

Elizabeth Canning, with her friends, now returned home to her mother's house, where she continued to languish in a very deplorable condition; and now Mr. Salt, the attorney who hath been employed in this cause, advised

the parties to apply to counsel, and upon this occasion, as he hath done upon many others, he fixed upon me as the counsel to be advised with.

Accordingly, upon the 6th of February, as I was sitting in my room, Counsellor Maden being then with me, my clerk delivered me a case, which was thus, as I remember, indorsed at the top, "The Case of Elizabeth Canning for Mr. Fielding's opinion," and at the bottom, "Salt, Solr." Upon the receipt of this case, with my fee, I bid my clerk give my service to Mr. Salt and tell him that I would take the case with me into the country, whither I intended to go the next day, and desired he would call for it on the Friday morning afterwards; after which, without looking into it, I delivered it to my wife, who was then drinking tea with us, and who laid it by.

The reader will pardon my being so particular in these circumstances, as they seem, however trifling they may be in themselves, to shew the true nature of this whole transaction, which hath been so basely misrepresented, and as they will all be attested by a gentleman of fashion, and of as much honour as any in the nation. My clerk presently returned up stairs, and brought Mr. Salt with him, who, when he came into the room, told me that he believed the question would be of very little difficulty, and begged me earnestly

to read it over then, and give him my opinion, as it was a matter of some haste, being of a criminal nature, and he feared the parties would make their escape. Upon this, I desired him to sit down, and when the tea was ended, I ordered my wife to fetch me back the case, which I then read over, and found it to contain a very full and clear state of the whole affair relating to the usage of this girl, with a *quere* what methods might be proper to take to bring the offenders to justice; which *quere* I answered in the best manner I was able. Mr. Salt then desired that Elizabeth Canning might swear to her information before me, and added, that it was the very particular desire of several gentlemen of that end of the town, that Virtue Hall might be examined by me relating to her knowledge of this affair.

This business I at first declined, partly, as it was a transaction which had happened at a distant part of the county, as it had been examined already by a gentleman, with whom I have the pleasure of some acquaintance, and of whose worth and integrity I have, with all, I believe, who know him, a very high opinion; but principally, indeed, for that I had been almost fatigued to death, with several tedious examinations at that time, and had intended to refresh myself with a day or two's interval in the country, where I had not been, unless on a Sunday, for a long time.

I yielded, however, at last, to the importunities of Mr. Salt; and my only motives for so doing were, besides those importunities, some curiosity, occasioned by the extraordinary nature of the case, and a great compassion for the dreadful condition of the girl, as it was represented to me by Mr. Salt.

The next day Elizabeth Canning was brought in a chair to my house, and being led up stairs between two, the following information, which I had never before seen, was read over to her, when she swore to the truth and set her mark to it.

Middlesex.] The Information of Elizabeth Canning, of Aldermanbury Postern, London, spinster, taken upon oath, this 7th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1753, before Henry Fielding, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.

This informant, upon her oath, saith, That on Monday, the first day of January last past, she, this informant, went to see her uncle and aunt, who live at Saltpetre Bank, near Rosemary Lane, in the County of Middlesex, and continued with them until the evening; and saith, That upon her return home about half

an hour after nine, being opposite Bethlehem-gate in Moorfields, she, this informant, was seized by two men (whose names are unknown to her, this informant) who both had brown bob-wigs on, and drab-coloured great-coats; one of whom held her, this informant, whilst the other feloniously and violently, took from her one shaving hat, one stuff gown, and one linen apron, which she had on; and also, half a guinea in gold, and three shillings in silver; and then he that held her threatened to do for this informant. And this informant saith, that, immediately after, they, the same two men, violently took hold of her, and dragged her up into the gravel-walk that leads down to the said gate, and about the middle thereof, he, the said man, that first held her, gave her, with his fist, a very violent blow upon the right temple, which threw her into a fit, and deprived her of her senses, (which fits, she, this informant, saith she is accustomed and subject to upon being frighted, and that they often continue for six or seven hours). And this informant saith, that when she came to herself, she perceived that she was carrying along by the same two men, in a large road-way: and saith, that in a little time after, she was so recovered she was able to walk alone; however they continued to pull her along, which still so intimidated and frighted her, that she durst not call out for assistance, or speak to

them. And this informant saith, that, in about half an hour after she had so recovered herself, they, the said two men, carried her, this informant, into a house, (which, as she, this informant, heard from some of them, was about four o'clock in the morning, and which house, as she, this informant, hath since heard and believes, is situate at Enfield-wash in the County of Middlesex, and is reputed to be a very bad and disorderly bawdy-house, and occupied by one —— Wells, widow,) and there this informant saw, in the kitchen, an old Gypsy woman, and two young women, whose names were unknown to this informant; but the name of one of them this informant hath since heard, and believes is Virtue Hall, and saith, that the said old Gypsy woman took hold of this informant's hand, and promised to give her fine clothes if she would go their way; (meaning, as this informant understood, to become a prostitute;) which this informant refusing to do, she, the said old Gypsy woman, took a knife out of a drawer, and cut the lace of the stays of her, this informant, and took the said stays away from her; and one of the said men took off her cap, and then the said two men went away with it, and she, this informant, hath never since seen any of her things. And this informant saith, that soon after they were gone, (which she, this informant, believes was about five in the morning,)

she, the said old Gypsy woman, forced her, this informant, up an old pair of stairs, and pushed her into a back room like a hay-loft, without any furniture whatsoever in the same, and there locked her, this informant, up, threatening her, this informant, that if she made the least noise or disturbance, she, the said old Gypsy woman, would cut her throat; and then she went away. And this informant saith, that when it grew light, upon her looking round to see in what a dismal place she was, she, this informant, discovered a large black jug, with the neck much broken, wherein was some water; and upon the floor, several pieces of bread, near in quantity to a quartern loaf, and a small parcel of hay: and saith, that she continued in this room or place, from the said Tuesday morning, the second day of January, until about half-an-hour after four-of-the clock in the afternoon of Monday, the twenty-ninth day of the same month of January, without having or receiving any other sustenance or provision, than the said bread and water, (except a small mince-pie, which she, this informant, had in her pocket,) or any thing to lie on other than the said hay, and without any person or persons coming to her, although she often heard the name of Mrs. and Mother Wells called upon, whom she understood was the mistress of the house. And this informant saith, that on Friday, the twenty-

sixth day of January last past, she, this informant, had consumed all the aforesaid bread and water, and continued without having any thing to eat or drink until the Monday following, when she, this informant, being almost famished with hunger, and starved with cold, and almost naked during the whole time of her confinement, about half-an-hour after four in the afternoon of the said twenty-ninth day of January, broke out at a window of the said room or place, and got to her friends in London, about a quarter after ten the same night, in a most weak, miserable condition, being very near starved to death. And this informant saith, that she ever since hath been, and now is, in a very weak and declining state and condition of health, and although all possible care and assistance is given her, yet whatever small nutriment she, this informant, is able to take, the same receives no passage through her, but what is forced by the apothecary's assistance and medicines.

The mark of
E.C.
Elizabeth Canning.

Sworn before me,
this 7th of Feb. 1753.
H. Fielding.

Upon this information, I issued a warrant against all who should be found resident in the house of the said Wells, as idle and disorderly

persons, and persons of evil fame, that they might appear before me, [and] give security for their good behaviour; upon which warrant, Virtue Hall and one Judith Natus were seized and brought before me, both being found at Mother Wells's: they were in my house above an hour or more before I was at leisure to see them, during which time, and before I had ever seen Virtue Hall, I was informed that she would confess the whole matter. When she came before me she appeared in tears, and seemed all over in a trembling condition; upon which I endeavoured to soothe and comfort her: the words I first spoke to her, as well as I can remember, were these: "Child, you need not be under this fear and apprehension; if you will tell us the whole truth of this affair, I give you my word and honour, as far as it is in my power, to protect you; you shall come to no manner of harm." She answered, that she would tell the whole truth, but desired to have some time given her to recover from her fright; upon this, I ordered a chair to be brought her, and desired her to sit down, and then after some minutes began to examine her; which I continued doing, in the softest language and kindest manner I was able, for a considerable time, till she had been guilty of so many prevarications and contradictions, that I told her I would examine her no longer, but would commit her to prison, and leave her

to stand or fall by the evidence against her, and at the same time advised Mr. Salt to prosecute her as a felon, together with the Gypsy woman; upon this, she begged I would hear her once more, and said that she would tell the whole truth, and accounted for her unwillingness to do it, from the fears of the Gypsy woman, and Wells. I then asked her a few questions, which she answered with more appearance of truth than she had done before; after which I recommended to Mr. Salt to go with her and take her information in writing; and at her parting from me, I bid her be a good girl, and to be sure to say neither more nor less than the whole truth. During this whole time, there were no less than ten or a dozen persons of credit present, who will, I suppose, testify the truth of this whole transaction as it is here related. Virtue Hall then went from me, and returned in about two hours, when the following information, which was, as she said, taken from her mouth, was read over to her and signed with her mark.

The Information of Virtue Hall, late of the parish of Enfield in the County of Middlesex, Spinster, taken upon oath this 13th day of February, 1753, before me, Henry Fielding, Esq., one of His Majesty's

Justices of the Peace for the
County of Middlesex.

This informant upon her oath saith, that on Tuesday the second day of January last past, about four of the clock in the morning, a young woman, whose name this informant hath since heard is Elizabeth Canning, was brought (without any gown, hat, or apron on) to the house of one Susannah Wells, of Enfield Wash, in the county aforesaid, widow, by two men, the name of one of whom is John Squires, the reputed son of one Mary Squires, an old Gypsy woman, who then, and some little time before, had lodged at the house of the said Susannah Wells, but the name of the other of the said two men this informant knows not, she, this informant, never having seen him before or since to the best of her knowledge. And this informant saith, that when she, the said Elizabeth Canning, was brought into the kitchen of the said Wells's house, there were present the said Mary Squires, John Squires, the man unknown, Katharine Squires, the reputed daughter of the said Mary Squires, and this informant; and this informant does not recollect that any one else was in the said kitchen at that time: and saith, that immediately upon her, the said Elizabeth Canning, being brought in, the said John Squires said, "Here mother, take this girl," or used words to that effect;

and she, the said Mary Squires, asked him where they had brought her from: and John said "From Moorfields;" and told his said mother that they had taken her gown, apron, hat, and half a guinea from her, to the best of this informant's recollection and belief: whereupon she, the said Mary Squires, took hold of the said Elizabeth Canning's hand, and asked her if she would go their way, or words to that effect; and upon the said Elizabeth Canning's answering no, she, the said Mary Squires, took a knife out of the drawer of the dresser in the kitchen, and therewith cut the lace of the said Elizabeth Canning's stays, and took the said stays away from her, and hung them on the back of a chair, and the said man unknown, took the cap off the said Elizabeth Canning's head, and then he, with the said John Squires, went out of doors with it. And this informant saith, that quickly after they were gone, she, the said Mary Squires, pushed the said Elizabeth Canning along the kitchen, towards and up a pair of stairs leading into a large back room like a loft, called the workshop, where there was some hay; and whilst she, the said Mary Squires, was so pushing her, the said Elizabeth Canning, towards the stairs, she, the said Susannah Wells, came into the kitchen and asked the said Mary Squires what she was going to push the girl up stairs for, or words to that effect, and to the best of this informant's

recollection and belief, the said Mary Squires answered, "What is that to you? you have no business with it." Whereupon the said Susannah Wells directly went out of the kitchen into an opposite room called the parlour, from whence she came, as this informant believes. And this informant saith, that the said Mary Squires forced the said Elizabeth Canning up stairs into the said workshop, and buttoned the door at the bottom of the stairs in the kitchen upon her, and confined her there. And this informant saith, that about two hours after, a quantity of water in an old broken-mouthed large black jug was carried up the said stairs, and put down upon the floor of the said workshop at the top of the stairs, to the best of this informant's recollection and belief. And this informant saith, that soon after the said Elizabeth Canning was so put into the said workshop, and the said Susannah Wells was returned into the parlour, the said John Squires returned again into the kitchen, and took the stays from off the chair and went away with the same, and in about an hour's time returned and went into the parlour with the said Susannah Wells. He, the said John Squires, came again into the kitchen, and then this informant went into the parlour to the said Susannah Wells, and the said Susannah Wells there said to this informant, Virtue, "The Gypsy man (meaning the said John Squires)

has been telling me that his mother had cut the girl's (meaning the said Elizabeth Canning's) stays off her back, and that he has got them"; and further said, "I desire you will not make a clack of it, for fear it should be blown," or used words to that or the like effect. And this informant saith, that from the time of the said Elizabeth Canning's being so confined in the morning of the said second day of January, in manner as aforesaid, she, the said Elizabeth Canning was not missed or discovered to have escaped out of the said workshop until Wednesday, the 31st day of the same month of January, as she, this informant, verily believes; for that to the best of this informant's recollection and belief, she was the person that first missed the said Elizabeth Canning thereout. And this informant saith, that the said Susannah Wells harboured and continued the said Mary Squires in her aforesaid house from the time of the said Mary Squires' robbing the said Elizabeth Canning of her stays, until Thursday, the first day of February last past, when the said Susannah Wells, Sarah, her daughter, Mary Squires, John Squires, his two sisters, Katharine and Mary Squires, Fortune Natus, and Sarah, his wife, and this informant, were apprehended on account thereof, and carried before Justice Tyshemaker. And this informant saith, that Fortune Natus and Sarah his wife, to the best of this informant's recol-

lection and belief, have lodged in the house of the said Susannah Wells about eleven weeks next before Monday, the fifth day of February instant, and laid on a bed of hay spread in the kitchen at night, which was in the day-time pushed up in a corner thereof, and continued lying there, when at home, until Thursday, the said first day of February, when, before the said Mr. Tyshemaker, all, except the said Susannah Wells and Mary Squires, were discharged, and then that evening the said Fortune Natus and Sarah, his wife, laid up in the said workshop where the said Elizabeth Canning had been confined, so that, as this informant understood, it might be pretended that they had lain in the said workshop for all the time they had lodged in the said Susannah Wells's house. And saith, that on the day on which it was discovered that the said Elizabeth Canning had made her escape out of the said workshop, by breaking down some boards slightly affixed across the window-place, the said Sarah, daughter of the said Susannah Wells, nailed up the said window-place again with boards, so that the said window-place might not appear to have been broke open. And lastly, this informant saith, that she, this informant, hath lived with the said Susannah Wells about a quarter of a year last past, and well knows that the said Susannah Wells, during that time, hath kept a very notorious, ill-governed and

disorderly house, and has had the character of doing so for many years past; and that the said Susannah Wells well knew and was privy to the confinement of the said Elizabeth Canning.

Sworn before me, this
14th February 1753.
H. Fielding.

her
Virtue X Hall
mark.

The reader will be pleased to consider the nature of this information truly taken in the manner above set down, to compare it with the evidence given by this Virtue Hall at her trial, and lastly, to compare it with the evidence of Elizabeth Canning, and then I am much mistaken if he condemns either the judge or jury.

After I had finished the examination of Virtue Hall, one Judith Natus, the wife of Fortune Natus, whom I apprehend to belong to the Gypsies, and who was found in the house with Virtue Hall, being examined upon her oath before me, declared, that she and her husband lay in the same room where Elizabeth Canning pretended to have been confined during the whole time of her pretended confinement, and declared that she had never seen nor heard of any such person as Elizabeth Canning in Wells's house. Upon this, Virtue Hall, of her own accord, affirmed, as she doth in her information in writing, these two persons were introduced into that room, to lie there, by Mother Wells, to give

a colour to the defence which Wells was to make, and which these people, in the presence of Virtue Hall, had agreed to swear to.

Upon this some persons, who were present, were desirous that this Judith Natus should be committed for perjury, but I told them that such a proceeding would be contrary to law, for that I might as well commit Virtue Hall upon the evidence of Judith Natus. However, as I confess I myself thought her guilty of perjury, I gave her some little caution, and told her that she ought to be very sure of the truth of what she said, if she intended to give that evidence at the Old Bailey, and then discharged her.

The next day Virtue Hall came again before me, but nothing material passed, nor was she three minutes in my presence. I then ordered detainers for felony against the Gypsy woman and Wells to be sent to the prisons where they then lay, upon the commitments of Mr. Tyshemaker, and thus ended all the trouble which I thought it was necessary for me to give myself in this affair; for as to the Gypsy woman or Wells, those who understand the law well know I had no business with them.

Some days afterwards, however, upon my return to town, my clerk informed me that several noble lords had sent to my house in my absence, desiring to be present at the examination of the Gypsy woman. Of this I informed

Mr. Salt, and desired him to bring Elizabeth Canning and Virtue Hall, in order to swear their several informations again in the presence of the Gypsy woman and Wells, and appointed him a day for so doing, of which I sent an advice to the noble lords.

One of these, namely, Lord Montfort, together with several gentlemen of fashion, came at the appointed time. They were in my room before the prisoners or witnesses were brought up. The informations were read to the two prisoners; after which I asked the prisoners a very few questions, and in what manner I behaved to them let all who were present testify; I can truly say, that my memory doth not charge me with having ever insulted the lowest wretch that hath been brought before me.

The prisoners and witnesses left the room while all the company remained in it; and from that time to this day I never saw the face of Virtue Hall, unless once when she came before me with Canning, to see a man who was taken on suspicion of the robbery, and when I scarce spoke to her; nor should I have seen Elizabeth Canning more, had not I received a message from some gentlemen desiring my advice how to dispose of some money which they had collected, to the use of Elizabeth Canning, in the best manner for her advantage; upon which occasion I ordered her to be sent for, to meet one of the gentlemen at my house: and had I

not likewise been informed, since the trial, that a great number of affidavits, proving that the Gypsy woman was at Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire, at the very time when Elizabeth Canning had sworn that she was robbed by her at Enfield Wash, were arrived at my Lord Mayor's office. Upon this I sent for her once more, and endeavoured by all means in my power to sift the truth out of her, and to bring her to a confession if she was guilty ; but she persisted in the truth of the evidence that she had given, and with such an appearance of innocence, as persuaded all present of the justice of her cause.

Thus have I very minutely recited the whole concern which I had in this affair, unless that after I had discharged my whole duty as a justice of the peace, Mr. Salt came again to consult with me concerning the crime of which Wells was accused, and the manner of prosecuting her, upon a point of law, which is by no means a very easy one, namely, that of accessaries after the fact in felony, upon which I gave him my opinion.

And now, having run through the process of the affair as far as to the trial, which is already in print, I come to lay before the reader that point of evidence on which, as I have said, so great a stress ought to be laid, a point on which indeed any cause whatever might be safely rested: this is the agreement, in so many particular circumstances, between the evidence

of Elizabeth Canning and Virtue Hall. That Virtue Hall had never seen nor heard the evidence of Elizabeth Canning at the time when she made her own information, is a fact; nay, had she even heard the other repeat it once over before a justice of peace, that she should be able, at a distance of time, to retain every particular circumstance so exactly as to make it tally in the manner her information doth with that of Elizabeth Canning, is a supposition in the highest degree absurd, and those who can believe it can believe that which is much more incredible than any thing in the narrative of Elizabeth Canning.

The only way therefore to account for this is, by supposing that the two girls laid this story together. To the probability and indeed possibility of this supposition, I object:—

First: That from the whole circumstances of this case it appears manifestly that they had never seen the face of each other (unless Canning be believed as to the time when she was brought into Wells's) before the persons came to apprehend her, nay, Wells herself declared before me that Canning had never been in her house, and the other scarce ever out of it during the whole month in question.

Secondly: If we could suppose they had met together so as to form this story, the behaviour of Virtue Hall before Mr. Tyshemaker would entirely destroy any such supposition, for there

this Virtue Hall was so far from being in the same story with Elizabeth Canning, that she there affirmed she knew nothing of the matter, and she had then no reason to apprehend any farther examination; nor is it possible to conceive that these two girls should afterwards enter into any such agreement. From the day of the examination before Mr. Tyshemaker, till Virtue Hall came before me, the two girls never saw the face of each other, the one remained sick at her mother's in town, the other continued at Wells's house at Enfield, in company with those who yet persist in their friendship to Wells and the Gypsy. In reality, I never yet heard a fact better established in a court of justice than this, that Elizabeth Canning and Virtue Hall did not lay this story together, nay, even she herself doth not, as I have heard, since her apostasy, pretend to say any such thing, but imputes her evidence to her being threatened and bullied into it, which, to my knowledge, and that of many others, is a most impudent falsehood; and, secondly, ascribes her agreeing with Elizabeth Canning to having heard her deliver her evidence, which, besides being impossible, can be proved to be another notorious falsehood, by a great number of witnesses of indisputable credit.

So that I think I am here intitled to the following syllogistical conclusion:—

Whenever two witnesses declare a fact, and

agree in all the circumstances of it, either the fact is true or they have previously concerted the evidence between themselves :—

But in this case it is impossible that these girls should have so previously concerted the evidence :—

And therefore the fact is true.

The reader will be pleased to observe, that I do not here lay any weight on the evidence of Virtue Hall, as far as her own credit is necessary to support that evidence, for in truth she deserves no credit at all; the weight which I here lay on her evidence is so far only as it is supported by that evidence of fact which alone is always safely to be depended upon, as it is alone incapable of a lie.

And here, though I might very well rest the merits of the whole cause on this single point, yet I cannot conclude the case of this poor girl without one observation, which hath, I own, surprised me, and will, I doubt not, surprise the reader. It is this, Why did not the Gypsy woman and Wells produce the evidence of Fortune Natus and his wife in their defence at their trial, since that evidence, as they well knew, was so very strong in their behalf, that, had the jury believed it, they must have been acquitted? For my own part, I can give but one answer to this, and that is too obvious to need to be here mentioned.

Nor will I quit this case, without observing

the pretty incident of the mince pie, which, as it possibly saved this poor girl's life, so doth the intention of carrying it home to her little brother serve very highly to represent the goodness as well as childishness and simplicity of her character; a character so strongly imprinted in her countenance, and attested by all her neighbours.

Upon the whole, this case, whether it be considered in a private or in a public light, deserves to be scrutinized to the bottom; and that can be only done by the Government's authorizing some very capable and very indifferent persons to examine into it, and particularly into the *alibi* defence of Mary Squires, the Gypsy woman. On the one side here is the life of a subject at stake, who, if her defence is true, is innocent; and a young girl, guilty of the blackest, most premeditated, and most audacious perjury, levelled against the lives of several innocent persons. On the other side, if the evidence of Elizabeth Canning is true, and perjury should, nevertheless, prevail against her, an innocent young creature, who hath suffered the most cruel and unheard-of injuries, is in danger of being rewarded for them by ruin and infamy; and what must extremely aggravate her case, and will distinguish her misery from that of all other wretches upon earth, is, that she will owe all this ruin and infamy to this strange circumstance, that her sufferings have

been beyond what human nature is supposed capable of bearing; whilst robbery, cruelty, and the most impudent of all perjuries, will escape with impunity and triumph; and, therefore, will so escape, because the barbarity of the guilty parties hath risen to a pitch of wanton and untempted inhumanity, beyond all possibility of belief.

As to my own conduct in this affair, which I have deduced with the most minute exactness, I know it to be highly justifiable before God and before man. I frankly own, I thought it intitled me to the very reverse of censure. The truth is, the same motive prevailed with me then, which principally urged me to take up my pen at this time, a desire to protect innocence and to detect guilt; and the delight in so doing was the only reward I ever expected, so help me God; and I have the satisfaction to be assured that those who know me best will most believe me.

In solemn truth, the only error I can ever be possibly charged with in this case is an error in sagacity. If Elizabeth Canning be guilty of a false accusation, I own she hath been capable of imposing on me; but I have the comfort to think the same imposition hath passed not only on two juries, but likewise on one of the best judges that ever sat on the bench of justice, and on two other very able judges who were present at the trial.

I do not, for my own part, pretend to infallibility, though I can at the same time with truth declare that I have never spared any pains in endeavouring to detect falsehood and perjury, and have had some very notable success that way.

In this case, however, one of the most simple girls I ever saw, if she be a wicked one, hath been too hard for me; supposing her to be such she hath indeed most grossly deceived me, for I remain still in the same error; and I appeal, in the most solemn manner, to the Almighty for the truth of what I now assert. I am at this very time, on this 15th day of March, 1753, as firmly persuaded as I am of any fact in this world, the truth of which depends solely on the evidence of others, that Mary Squires, the Gypsy woman, is Guilty of the robbery and cruelty of which she stands convicted; that the *alibi* defence is not only a false one, but a falsehood very easy to be practised on all occasions where there are gangs of people, as Gypsies, &c.; that very foul and unjustifiable practices have been used in this whole affair since the trial; and that Elizabeth Canning is a poor, honest, innocent, simple girl, and the most unhappy and most injured of all human beings.

It is this persuasion alone, I repeat it again, which occasioned me to give the public this trouble; for as to myself I am, in my own

opinion, as little concerned in the event of this whole matter as any other man whatever.

Whatever warmth I have at last contracted in this matter, I have contracted from those who have been much warmer on the other side; nor can any such magistrate blame me, since we must, I am persuaded, act from the same motive of doing justice to injured innocence. This is surely the duty of every man; and a very indispensible duty it is, if we believe one of the best of writers. *Qui non defendit, nec obsistit, si potest, injuriæ, tam erit in vitio quam si parentes, aut amicos, aut patriam deserat.* These are Tully's words, and they are in the most especial manner applicable to every magistrate.

To the merit of having discharged this duty, my Lord Mayor as well as myself have a just title at all events. And for my own part, as I do not expect to gain, so neither do I fear to lose any other honour on the final issue of this affair: for surely the cause is of such a nature that a man must be intolerably vain who is ashamed of being mistaken on either side. To be placed above the reach of deceit is to be placed above the rank of a human being; sure I am that I make no pretension to be of that rank; indeed I have been often deceived in my opinion of men, and have served and recommended to others those persons whom I have afterwards discovered to be totally worthless. I shall, in short, be very well contented with

the character which Cicero gives of Epicurus. *Quis illum negat et bonum virum et comem et humanum fuisse!* And whoever will allow me this, which I must own I think I deserve, shall have my leave to add, *tamen, si hæc vera sunt non satis acutus fuit.*

In solemn truth so little desirous am I to be found in the right, that I shall not be in the least displeased to find myself mistaken. This indeed I ought, as a good man, to wish may be the case; since that this country should have produced one great monster of iniquity is a reflection much less shocking than to consider the nation to be arrived at such an alarming state of profligacy, and our laws and government to lie in so languishing a condition that a gang of wretches like these should dare to form such an impudent attempt to elude public justice, nay, rather, to overbear it by the force of associated perjury in the face of the whole world; and that this audacious attempt should have had, at least, a very high probability of succeeding.

This is the light in which I see this case at present. I conclude, therefore, with hoping that the government will authorize some proper persons to examine to the very bottom, a matter in which the honour of our national justice is so deeply concerned.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the extreme hurry in which the foregoing case was drawn up, I forgot to observe one strange circumstance which will attend the case of Elizabeth Canning, if it should be admitted to be a forgery; this is, that she should charge the Gypsy woman, when she must have known that woman could prove an *alibi*, and not Susannah Wells, who could have had no such proof. This will be very strong if applied to the evidence of Canning, but much stronger when applied to the evidence of Virtue Hall, who lived in the house the whole time.

This appears to be very simple conduct; and, as such, indeed, is consistent enough with her character. So is not the artful manner in which the charge was brought out; first Canning accused the Gypsy woman, and went no farther; then Hall brought the rest upon the stage, all in such regularity, and with such appearance of truth that no Newgate solicitor ever ranged his evidence in better order. But, perhaps, I might have spared my reader these observations, as I can now inform him that I have this very afternoon (Sunday the 18th instant) read over a great number of affidavits corroborating the whole evidence of Canning, and contradicting the *alibi* defence of the Gypsy woman.

I shall only add, that these affidavits are by unquestionable witnesses, and sworn before three worthy Justices of the County of Middlesex, who live in the neighbourhood of Enfield Wash.

THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO LISBON

DEDICATION TO THE PUBLIC

Your candour is desired on the perusal of the following sheets, as they are the product of a genius that has long been your delight and entertainment. It must be acknowledged that a lamp almost burnt out does not give so steady and uniform a light as when it blazes in its full vigour; but yet it is well known that by its wavering, as if struggling against its own dissolution, it sometimes darts a ray as bright as ever. In like manner, a strong and lively genius will, in its last struggles, sometimes mount aloft, and throw forth the most striking marks of its original lustre.

Wherever these are to be found, do you, the genuine patrons of extraordinary capacities, be as liberal in your applauses of him who is now no more as you were of him whilst he was yet amongst you. And, on the other hand, if in this little work there should appear any traces of a weakened and decayed life, let your own imaginations place before your eyes a true picture in that of a hand trembling in almost its latest hour, of a body emaciated with pains, yet struggling for your entertainment; and let this affecting picture open each tender heart, and

call forth a melting tear, to blot out whatever failings may be found in a work begun in pain, and finished almost at the same period with life.

It was thought proper, by the friends of the deceased, that this little piece should come into your hands as it came from the hands of the author; it being judged that you would be better pleased to have an opportunity of observing the faintest traces of a genius you have long admired, than have it patched by a different hand, by which means the marks of its true author might have been effaced.

That the success of this last written, though first published, volume of the author's posthumous pieces may be attended with some convenience to those innocents he hath left behind, will, no doubt, be a motive to encourage its circulation through the kingdom, which will engage every future genius to exert itself for your pleasure.

There would not, perhaps, be a more pleasant or profitable study, among those which have their principal end in amusement, than that of travels or voyages, if they were writ, as they might be and ought to be, with a joint view to the entertainment and information of mankind. If the conversation of travellers be so eagerly sought after as it is, we may believe their books will be still more agreeable company, as they will in general be more instructive and more entertaining.

But when I say the conversation of travellers is usually so welcome, I must be understood to mean that only of such as have had good sense enough to apply their peregrinations to a proper use, so as to acquire from them a real and valuable knowledge of men and things; both which are best known by comparison. If the customs and manners of men were everywhere the same, there would be no office so dull as that of a traveller: for the difference of hills, valleys, rivers, in short, the various views in which we may see the face of the earth, would scarce afford him a pleasure worthy of his labour; and surely it would give him very

little opportunity of communicating any kind of entertainment or improvement to others.

To make a traveller an agreeable companion to a man of sense, it is necessary, not only that he should have seen much, but that he should have overlooked much of what he hath seen. Nature is not, any more than a great genius, always admirable in her productions; and therefore the traveller, who may be called her commentator, should not expect to find everywhere subjects worthy of his notice.

It is certain, indeed, that one may be guilty of omission, as well as of the opposite extreme; but a fault on that side will be more easily pardoned, as it is better to be hungry than surfeited, and to miss your dessert at the table of a man whose gardens abound with the choicest fruits, than to have your taste affronted with every sort of trash that can be picked up at the green-stall or the wheelbarrow.

If we should carry on the analogy between the traveller and the commentator, it is impossible to keep one's eye a moment off from the laborious much-read doctor Zachary Grey, of whose redundant notes on Hudibras I shall only say that it is, I am confident, the single book extant in which above five hundred authors are quoted, not one of which could be found in the collection of the late Doctor Mead.

As there are few things which a traveller is

to record, there are fewer on which he is to offer his observations: this is the office of the reader; and it is so pleasant a one, that he seldom chooses to have it taken from him, under the pretence of lending him assistance. Some occasions, indeed, there are, when proper observations are pertinent, and others when they are necessary; but good sense alone must point them out. I shall lay down only one general rule; which I believe to be of universal truth between relator and hearer, as it is between author and reader; this is, that the latter never forgive any observation of the former which doth not convey some knowledge that they are sensible they could not possibly have attained of themselves.

But all his pains in collecting knowledge, all his judgment in selecting, and all his art in communicating it, will not suffice, unless he can make himself, in some degree, an agreeable as well as an instructive companion. The highest instruction we can derive from the tedious tale of a dull fellow scarce ever pays us for our attention. There is nothing, I think, half so valuable as knowledge, and yet there is nothing which men will give themselves so little trouble to attain; unless it be, perhaps, that lowest degree of it which is the object of curiosity, and which hath therefore that active passion constantly employed in its service. This, indeed, it is in the power of every tra-

veller to gratify; but it is the leading principle in weak minds only.

To render his relation agreeable to the man of sense, it is therefore necessary that the voyager should possess several eminent and rare talents; so rare indeed, that it is almost wonderful to see them ever united in the same person.

And if all these talents must concur in the relator, they are certainly in a more eminent degree necessary to the writer: for here the narration admits of higher ornaments of style, and every fact and sentiment offers itself to the fullest and most deliberate examination.

It would appear, therefore, I think, somewhat strange if such writers as these should be found extremely common; since Nature hath been a most parsimonious distributor of her richest talents, and hath seldom bestowed many on the same person. But, on the other hand, why there should scarce exist a single writer of this kind worthy our regard; and, whilst there is no other branch of history (for this is history) which hath not exercised the greatest pens, why this alone should be overlooked by all men of great genius and erudition, and delivered up to the Goths and Vandals as their lawful property, is altogether as difficult to determine.

And yet that this is the case, with some very few exceptions, is most manifest. Of these I

shall willingly admit Burnet and Addison; if the former was not, perhaps, to be considered as a political essayist, and the latter as a commentator on the classics, rather than as a writer of travels; which last title, perhaps, they would both of them have been least ambitious to affect.

Indeed if these two, and two or three more, should be removed from the mass, there would remain such a heap of dulness behind, that the appellation of voyage-writer would not appear very desirable.

I am not here unapprised that old Homer himself is by some considered as a voyage-writer; and, indeed, the beginning of his Odyssey may be urged to countenance that opinion, which I shall not controvert. But, whatever species of writing the Odyssey is of, it is surely at the head of that species, as much as the Iliad is of another; and so far the excellent Longinus would allow, I believe, at this day.

But, in reality, the Odyssey, the Telemachus, and all of that kind, are to the voyage-writing I here intend, what romance is to true history, the former being the confounder and corrupter of the latter. I am far from supposing that Homer, Hesiod, and the other ancient poets and mythologists, had any settled design to pervert and confuse the records of antiquity; but it is certain they have effected it; and for

my part I must confess I should have honoured and loved Homer more had he written a true history of his own times in humble prose, than those noble poems that have so justly collected the praise of all ages; for, though I read these with more admiration and astonishment, I still read Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon with more amusement and more satisfaction.

The original poets were not, however, without excuse. They found the limits of nature too strait for the immensity of their genius, which they had not room to exert without extending fact by fiction; and that especially at a time when the manners of men were too simple to afford that variety, which they have since offered in vain to the choice of the meanest writers. In doing this they are again excusable for the manner in which they have done it,

ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat.

They are not, indeed, so properly said to turn reality into fiction, as fiction into reality. Their paintings are so bold, their colours so strong, that everything they touch seems to exist in the very manner they represent it: their portraits are so just, and their landscapes so beautiful, that we acknowledge the strokes of nature in both, without enquiring whether Nature herself, or her journeyman the poet, formed the first pattern of the piece.

But other writers (I will put Pliny at their head) have no such pretensions to indulgence: they lie for lying sake, or in order insolently to impose the most monstrous improbabilities and absurdities upon their readers on their own authority; treating them as some fathers treat children, and as other fathers do laymen, exacting their belief of whatever they relate, on no other foundation than their own authority, without ever taking the pains of adapting their lies to human credulity, and of calculating them for the meridian of a common understanding; but with as much weakness as wickedness, and with more impudence often than either, they assert facts contrary to the honour of God, to the visible order of the creation, to the known laws of nature, to the histories of former ages, and to the experience of our own, and which no man can at once understand and believe.

If it should be objected (and it can nowhere be objected better than where I now write,[1] as there is nowhere more pomp of bigotry) that whole nations have been firm believers in such most absurd suppositions, I reply, the fact is not true. They have known nothing of the matter, and have believed they knew not what. It is, indeed, with me no matter of doubt but that the pope and his clergy might teach any of those Christian heterodoxies, the tenets of

[1] At Lisbon.

which are the most diametrically opposite to their own; nay, all the doctrines of Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet, not only with certain and immediate success, but without one Catholic in a thousand knowing he had changed his religion.

What motive a man can have to sit down, and to draw forth a list of stupid, senseless, incredible lies upon paper, would be difficult to determine, did not Vanity present herself so immediately as the adequate cause. The vanity of knowing more than other men is, perhaps, besides hunger, the only inducement to writing, at least to publishing, at all. Why then should not the voyage-writer be inflamed with the glory of having seen what no man ever did or will see but himself? This is the true source of the wonderful in the discourse and writings, and sometimes, I believe, in the actions of men. There is another fault, of a kind directly opposite to this, to which these writers are sometimes liable, when, instead of filling their pages with monsters which nobody hath ever seen, and with adventures which never have, nor could possibly have, happened to them, they waste their time and paper with recording things and facts of so common a kind, that they challenge no other right of being remembered than as they had the honour of having happened to the author, to whom nothing seems trivial that in any manner happens to himself.

Of such consequence do his own actions appear to one of this kind, that he would probably think himself guilty of infidelity should he omit the minutest thing in the detail of his journal. That the fact is true is sufficient to give it a place there, without any consideration whether it is capable of pleasing or surprising, of diverting or informing, the reader.

I have seen a play (if I mistake not it is one of Mrs. Behn's or of Mrs. Centlivre's) where this vice in a voyage-writer is finely ridiculed. An ignorant pedant, to whose government, for I know not what reason, the conduct of a young nobleman in his travels is committed, and who is sent abroad to shew my lord the world, of which he knows nothing himself, before his departure from a town, calls for his journal to record the goodness of the wine and tobacco, with other articles of the same importance, which are to furnish the materials of a voyage at his return home. The humour, it is true, is here carried very far; and yet, perhaps, very little beyond what is to be found in writers who profess no intention of dealing in humour at all.

Of one or other, or both of these kinds, are, I conceive, all that vast pile of books which pass under the names of voyages, travels, adventures, lives, memoirs, histories, &c., some of which a single traveller sends into the world in many volumes, and others are, by judicious

booksellers, collected into vast bodies in folio, and inscribed with their own names, as if they were indeed their own travels; thus unjustly attributing to themselves the merit of others.

Now, from both these faults we have endeavoured to steer clear in the following narrative; which, however the contrary may be insinuated by ignorant, unlearned, and fresh-water critics, who have never travelled either in books or ships, I do solemnly declare doth, in my own impartial opinion, deviate less from truth than any other voyage extant; my Lord Anson's alone being, perhaps, excepted.

Some few embellishments must be allowed to every historian; for we are not to conceive that the speeches in Livy, Sallust, or Thucydides, were literally spoken in the very words in which we now read them. It is sufficient that every fact hath its foundation in truth, as I do seriously aver is the case in the ensuing pages; and when it is so, a good critic will be so far from denying all kind of ornament of style or diction, or even of circumstance, to his author, that he would be rather sorry if he omitted it; for he could hence derive no other advantage than the loss of an additional pleasure in the perusal.

Again, if any merely common incident should appear in this journal, which will seldom I apprehend be the case, the candid reader will easily perceive it is not introduced for

its own sake, but for some observations and reflections naturally resulting from it; and which, if but little to his amusement, tend directly to the instruction of the reader or to the information of the public; to whom if I choose to convey such instruction or information with an air of joke and laughter, none but the dullest of fellows will, I believe, censure it; but if they should, I have the authority of more than one passage in Horace to alledge in my defence.

Having thus endeavoured to obviate some censures, to which a man without the gift of foresight, or any fear of the imputation of being a conjurer, might conceive this work would be liable, I might now undertake a more pleasing task, and fall at once to the direct and positive praises of the work itself; of which, indeed, I could say a thousand good things; but the task is so very pleasant that I shall leave it wholly to the reader, and it is all the task that I impose on him. A moderation for which he may think himself obliged to me when he compares it with the conduct of authors, who often fill a whole sheet with their own praises, to which they sometimes set their own real names, and sometimes a fictitious one. One hint, however, I must give the kind reader; which is, that if he should be able to find no sort of amusement in the book, he will be pleased to remember the public utility which will arise from it. If entertainment, as Mr. Richardson observes, be

but a secondary consideration in a romance; with which Mr. Addison, I think, agrees, affirming the use of the pastry cook to be the first; if this, I say, be true of a mere work of invention, sure it may well be so considered in a work founded, like this, on truth; and where the political reflections form so distinguishing a part.

But perhaps I may hear, from some critic of the most saturnine complexion, that my vanity must have made a horrid dupe of my judgment, if it hath flattered me with an expectation of having anything here seen in a grave light, or of conveying any useful instruction to the public, or to their guardians. I answer, with the great man whom I just now quoted, that my purpose is to convey instruction in the vehicle of entertainment; and so to bring about at once, like the revolution in "The Rehearsal," a perfect reformation of the laws relating to our maritime affairs: an undertaking, I will not say more modest, but surely more feasible, than that of reforming a whole people, by making use of a vehicular story, to wheel in among them worse manners than their own.

INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of August, 1753, when I had taken the Duke of Portland's medicine, as it is called, near a year, the effects of which had been the carrying off the symptoms of a lingering imperfect gout, I was persuaded by Mr. Ranby, the king's premier serjeant-surgeon, and the ablest advice, I believe, in all branches of the physical profession, to go immediately to Bath. I accordingly writ that very night to Mrs. Bowden, who, by the next post, informed me she had taken me a lodging for a month certain.

Within a few days after this, whilst I was preparing for my journey, and when I was almost fatigued to death with several long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the space of a week, by different gangs of street-robbers, I received a message from his grace the Duke of Newcastle, by Mr. Carrington, the king's messenger, to attend his grace the next morning, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, upon some business of importance; but I excused myself from complying with the message, as, besides being lame, I was very ill

with the great fatigues I had lately undergone added to my distemper.

His grace, however, sent Mr. Carrington, the very next morning, with another summons; with which, though in the utmost distress, I immediately complied; but the duke, happening, unfortunately for me, to be then particularly engaged, after I had waited some time, sent a gentleman to discourse with me on the best plan which could be invented for putting an immediate end to those murders and robberies which were every day committed in the streets; upon which I promised to transmit my opinion, in writing, to his grace, who, as the gentleman informed me, intended to lay it before the privy council

Though this visit cost me a severe cold, I, notwithstanding, set myself down to work; and in about four days sent the duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reasons and arguments I could bring to support it, drawn out in several sheets of paper; and soon received a message from the duke by Mr. Carrington, acquainting me that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

The principal and most material of those terms was the immediately depositing six hundred pounds in my hands; at which small charge I undertook to demolish the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into such

order, that no such gangs should ever be able, for the future, to form themselves into bodies, or at least to remain any time formidable to the public.

I had delayed my Bath journey for some time, contrary to the repeated advice of my physical acquaintance, and to the ardent desire of my warmest friends, though my distemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which case the Bath waters are generally reputed to be almost infallible. But I had the most eager desire of demolishing this gang of villains and cut-throats, which I was sure of accomplishing the moment I was enabled to pay a fellow who had undertaken, for a small sum, to betray them into the hands of a set of thief-takers whom I had enlisted into the service, all men of known and approved fidelity and intrepidity.

After some weeks the money was paid at the treasury, and within a few days after two hundred pounds of it had come to my hands, the whole gang of cut-throats was entirely dispersed, seven of them were in actual custody, and the rest driven, some out of town, and others out of the kingdom.

Though my health was now reduced to the last extremity, I continued to act with the utmost vigour against these villains; in examining whom, and in taking the depositions against them, I have often spent whole days, nay, sometimes whole nights, especially when

there was any difficulty in procuring sufficient evidence to convict them; which is a very common case in street-robberies, even when the guilt of the party is sufficiently apparent to satisfy the most tender conscience. But courts of justice know nothing of a cause more than what is told them on oath by a witness; and the most flagitious villain upon earth is tried in the same manner as a man of the best character who is accused of the same crime.

Meanwhile, amidst all my fatigues and distresses, I had the satisfaction to find my endeavours had been attended with such success that this hellish society were almost utterly extirpated, and that, instead of reading of murders and street-robberies in the news almost every morning, there was, in the remaining part of the month of November, and in all December, not only no such thing as a murder, but not even a street-robbery committed. Some such, indeed, were mentioned in the public papers; but they were all found, on the strictest enquiry, to be false.

In this entire freedom from street-robberies, during the dark months, no man will, I believe, scruple to acknowledge that the winter of 1753 stands unrivalled, during a course of many years; and this may possibly appear the more extraordinary to those who recollect the outrages with which it began.

Having thus fully accomplished my under-

taking, I went into the country, in a very weak and deplorable condition, with no fewer or less diseases than a jaundice, a dropsy, and an asthma, altogether uniting their forces in the destruction of a body so entirely emaciated that it had lost all its muscular flesh.

Mine was now no longer what was called a Bath case; nor, if it had been so, had I strength remaining sufficient to go thither, a ride of six miles only being attended with an intolerable fatigue. I now discharged my lodgings at Bath, which I had hitherto kept. I began in earnest to look on my case as desperate, and I had vanity enough to rank myself with those heroes who, of old times, became voluntary sacrifices to the good of the public.

But, lest the reader should be too eager to catch at the word *vanity*, and should be unwilling to indulge me with so sublime a gratification, for I think he is not too apt to gratify me, I will take my key a pitch lower, and will frankly own that I had a stronger motive than the love of the public to push me on: I will therefore confess to him that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy aspect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of those sums which men, who are always ready to plunder both as much as they can, have been pleased to suspect me of taking: on the contrary, by composing, instead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars

(which I blush when I say hath not been universally practised) and by refusing to take a shilling from a man who most undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an income of about five hundred pounds[1] a year, of the dirtiest money upon earth, to little more than

[1] A predecessor of mine used to boast that he made one thousand pounds a year in his office; but how he did this (if indeed he did it) is to me a secret. His clerk, now mine, told me I had more business than he had ever known there; I am sure I had as much as any man could do. The truth is, the fees are so very low, when any are due, and so much is done for nothing, that, if a single justice of peace had business enough to employ twenty clerks, neither he nor they would get much by their labour. The public will not, therefore, I hope, think I betray a secret when I inform them that I received from the Government a yearly pension out of the public service-money; which, I believe, indeed would have been larger had my great patron been convinced of an error, which I have heard him utter more than once, that he could not indeed say that the acting as a principal justice of peace in Westminster was on all accounts very desirable, but that all the world knew it was a very lucrative office. Now, to have shewn him plainly that a man must be a rogue to make a very little this way, and that he could not make much by being as great rogue as he could be, would have required more confidence than, I believe, he had in me, and more of his conversation than he chose to allow me; I therefore resigned the office and the farther execution of my plan to my brother, who had long been my assistant. And now, lest the case between me and the reader should be the same in both instances as it was between me and the great man, I will not add another word on the subject.

three hundred pounds; a considerable proportion of which remained with my clerk; and, indeed, if the whole had done so, as it ought, he would be but ill-paid for sitting almost sixteen hours in the twenty-four in the most unwholesome, as well as nauseous air in the universe, and which hath in his case corrupted a good constitution without contaminating his morals.

But, not to trouble the reader with anecdotes, contrary to my own rule laid down in my preface, I assure him I thought my family was very slenderly provided for; and that my health began to decline so fast that I had very little more of life left to accomplish what I had thought of too late. I rejoiced therefore greatly in seeing an opportunity, as I apprehended, of gaining such merit in the eye of the public, that, if my life were the sacrifice to it, my friends might think they did a popular act in putting my family at least beyond the reach of necessity, which I myself began to despair of doing. And though I disclaim all pretence to that Spartan or Roman patriotism which loved the public so well that it was always ready to become a voluntary sacrifice to the public good, I do solemnly declare I have that love for my family.

After this confession therefore, that the public was not the principal deity to which my life was offered a sacrifice, and when it is

farther considered what a poor sacrifice this was, being indeed no other than the giving up what I saw little likelihood of being able to hold much longer, and which, upon the terms I held it, nothing but the weakness of human nature could represent to me as worth holding at all; the world may, I believe, without envy, allow me all the praise to which I have any title.

My aim, in fact, was not praise, which is the last gift they care to bestow; at least, this was not my aim as an end, but rather as a means of purchasing some moderate provision for my family, which, though it should exceed my merit, must fall infinitely short of my service, if I succeeded in my attempt.

To say the truth, the public never act more wisely than when they act most liberally in the distribution of their rewards; and here the good they receive is often more to be considered than the motive from which they receive it. Example alone is the end of all public punishments and rewards. Laws never inflict disgrace in resentment, nor confer honour from gratitude. "For it is very hard, my lord," said a convicted felon at the bar to the late excellent judge Burnet, "to hang a poor man for stealing a horse."—"You are not to be hanged, sir," answered my ever-honoured and beloved friend, "for stealing a horse, but you are to be hanged that horses may not be stolen." In like man-

ner it might have been said to the late Duke of Marlborough, when the parliament was so deservedly liberal to him, after the battle of Blenheim, "You receive not these honours and bounties on account of a victory past, but that other victories may be obtained."

I was now, in the opinion of all men, dying of a complication of disorders; and, were I desirous of playing the advocate, I have an occasion fair enough: but I disdain such an attempt. I relate facts plainly and simply as they are; and let the world draw from them what conclusions they please, taking with them the following facts for their instruction; the one is, that the proclamation offering one hundred pounds for the apprehending felons for certain felonies committed in certain places, which I prevented from being revived, had formerly cost the government several thousand pounds within a single year. Secondly, that all such proclamations, instead of curing the evil, had actually increased it; had multiplied the number of robberies; had propagated the worst and wickedest of perjuries; had laid snares for youth and ignorance, which, by the temptation of these rewards, had been sometimes drawn into guilt; and sometimes, which cannot be thought on without the highest horror, had destroyed them without it. Thirdly, that my plan had not put the government to more than three hundred pound expense, and had pro-

duced none of the ill consequences above mentioned; but, lastly, had actually suppressed the evil for a time, and had plainly pointed out the means of suppressing it for ever. This I would myself have undertaken, had my health permitted, at the annual expense of the above-mentioned sum.

After having stood the terrible six weeks which succeeded last Christmas, and put a lucky end, if they had known their own interests, to such numbers of aged and infirm valetudinarians, who might have gasped through two or three mild winters more, I returned to town in February, in a condition less despaired of by myself than by any of my friends. I now became the patient of Dr. Ward, who wished I had taken his advice earlier.

By his advice I was tapped, and fourteen quarts of water drawn from my belly. The sudden relaxation which this caused, added to my enervate, emaciated habit of body, so weakened me that within two days I was thought to be falling into the agonies of death.

I was at the worst on that memorable day when the public lost Mr. Pelham. From that day I began slowly, as it were, to draw my feet out of the grave; till in two months' time I had again acquired some little degree of strength, but was again full of water.

During this whole time I took Mr. Ward's medicines, which had seldom any perceptible

operation. Those in particular of the diaphoretic kind, the working of which is thought to require a great strength of constitution to support, had so little effect on me, that Mr. Ward declared it was as vain to attempt sweating me as a deal board.

In this situation I was tapped a second time. I had one quart of water less taken from me now than before; but I bore all the consequences of the operation much better. This I attributed greatly to a dose of laudanum prescribed by my surgeon. It first gave me the most delicious flow of spirits, and afterwards as comfortable a nap.

The month of May, which was now begun, it seemed reasonable to expect would introduce the spring, and drive off that winter which yet maintained its footing on the stage. I resolved therefore to visit a little house of mine in the country, which stands at Ealing, in the county of Middlesex, in the best air, I believe, in the whole kingdom, and far superior to that of Kensington Gravel-pits; for the gravel is here much wider and deeper, the place higher and more open towards the south, whilst it is guarded from the north wind by a ridge of hills, and from the smells and smoke of London by its distance; which last is not the fate of Kensington, when the wind blows from any corner of the east.

Obligations to Mr. Ward I shall always con-

fess; for I am convinced that he omitted no care in endeavouring to serve me, without any expectation or desire of fee or reward.

The powers of Mr. Ward's remedies want indeed no unfair puffs of mine to give them credit; and though this distemper of the dropsy stands, I believe, first in the list of those over which he is always certain of triumphing, yet, possibly, there might be something particular in my case capable of eluding that radical force which had healed so many thousands. The same distemper, in different constitutions, may possibly be attended with such different symptoms, that to find an infallible nostrum for the curing any one distemper in every patient may be almost as difficult as to find a panacea for the cure of all.

But even such a panacea one of the greatest scholars and best of men did lately apprehend he had discovered. It is true, indeed, he was no physician; that is, he had not by the forms of his education acquired a right of applying his skill in the art of physic to his own private advantage; and yet, perhaps, it may be truly asserted that no other modern hath contributed so much to make his physical skill useful to the public; at least, that none hath undergone the pains of communicating this discovery in writing to the world. The reader, I think, will scarce need to be informed that the writer I mean is the late Bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland,

and the discovery that of the virtues of tar-water.

I then happened to recollect, upon a hint given me by the inimitable and shamefully-distressed author of "The Female Quixote," that I had many years before, from curiosity only, taken a cursory view of Bishop Berkeley's treatise on the virtues of tar-water, which I had formerly observed he strongly contends to be that real panacea which Sydenham supposes to have an existence in nature, though it yet remains undiscovered, and, perhaps, will always remain so.

Upon the reperusal of this book I found the bishop only asserting his opinion that tar-water might be useful in the dropsy, since he had known it to have a surprising success in the cure of a most stubborn anasarca, which is indeed no other than, as the word implies, the dropsy of the flesh; and this was, at that time, a large part of my complaint.

After a short trial, therefore, of a milk diet, which I presently found did not suit with my case, I betook myself to the bishop's prescription, and dosed myself every morning and evening with half a pint of tar-water.

It was no more than three weeks since my last tapping, and my belly and limbs were distended with water. This did not give me the worse opinion of tar-water; for I never supposed there could be any such virtue in tar-

water as immediately to carry off a quantity of water already collected. For my delivery from this, I well knew I must be again obliged to the trochar; and that if the tar-water did me any good at all it must be only by the slowest degrees; and that if it should ever get the better of my distemper it must be by the tedious operation of undermining, and not by a sudden attack and storm.

Some visible effects, however, and far beyond what my most sanguine hopes could with any modesty expect, I very soon experienced; the tar-water having, from the very first, lessened my illness, increased my appetite, and added, though in a very slow proportion, to my bodily strength.

But if my strength had increased a little, my water daily increased much more. So that, by the end of May, my belly became again ripe for the trochar, and I was a third time tapped; upon which, two very favourable symptoms appeared. I had three quarts of water taken from me less than had been taken the last time; and I bore the relaxation with much less (indeed with scarce any) faintness.

Those of my physical friends on whose judgment I chiefly depended seemed to think my only chance of life consisted in having the whole summer before me; in which I might hope to gather sufficient strength to encounter the inclemencies of the ensuing winter. But

this chance began daily to lessen. I saw the summer mouldering away, or rather, indeed, the year passing away without intending to bring on any summer at all. In the whole month of May the sun scarce appeared three times. So that the early fruits came to the fulness of their growth, and to some appearance of ripeness, without acquiring any real maturity; having wanted the heat of the sun to soften and meliorate their juices. I saw the dropsy gaining rather than losing ground; the distance growing still shorter between the tappings. I saw the asthma likewise beginning again to become more troublesome. I saw the midsummer quarter drawing towards a close. So that I conceived, if the Michaelmas quarter should steal off in the same manner, as it was, in my opinion, very much to be apprehended it would, I should be delivered up to the attacks of winter before I recruited my forces, so as to be anywise able to withstand them.

I now began to recall an intention, which from the first dawnings of my recovery I had conceived, of removing to a warmer climate; and, finding this to be approved of by a very eminent physician, I resolved to put it into immediate execution.

Aix in Provence was the place first thought on; but the difficulties of getting thither were insuperable. The journey by land, beside the expense of it, was infinitely too long and fatigu-

ing; and I could hear of no ship that was likely to set out from London, within any reasonable time, for Marseilles, or any other port in that part of the Mediterranean.

Lisbon was presently fixed on in its room. The air here, as it was near four degrees to the south of Aix, must be more mild and warm, and the winter shorter and less piercing.

It was not difficult to find a ship bound to a place with which we carry on so immense a trade. Accordingly, my brother soon informed me of the excellent accommodations for passengers, which were to be found on board a ship that was obliged to sail for Lisbon in three days.

I eagerly embraced the offer, notwithstanding the shortness of the time; and, having given my brother full power to contract for our passage, I began to prepare my family for the voyage with the utmost expedition.

But our great haste was needless; for the captain having twice put off his sailing, I at length invited him to dinner with me at Fordhook, a full week after the time on which he had declared, and that with many asseverations, he must and would weigh anchor.

He dined with me according to his appointment; and when all matters were settled between us, left me with positive orders to be on board the Wednesday following; when he declared he would fall down the river to Graves-

end, and would not stay a moment for the greatest man in the world.

He advised me to go to Gravesend by land, and there wait the arrival of his ship; assigning many reasons for this, every one of which was, as I well remember, among those that had before determined me to go on board near the Tower.

THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO LISBON

Wednesday, June 26, 1754.—On this day the most melancholy sun I had ever beheld arose, and found me awake at my house at Fordhook. By the light of this sun I was, in my own opinion, last to behold and take leave of some of those creatures on whom I doated with a mother-like fondness, guided by nature and passion, and uncured and unhardened by all the doctrine of that philosophical school where I had learnt to bear pains and to despise death.

In this situation, as I could not conquer Nature, I submitted entirely to her, and she made as great a fool of me as she had ever done of any woman whatsoever; under pretence of giving me leave to enjoy, she drew me in to suffer, the company of my little ones during eight hours; and I doubt not whether, in that time, I did not undergo more than in all my distemper.

At twelve precisely my coach was at the door, which was no sooner told me than I kissed my children round, and went into it with some little resolution. My wife, who be-

haved more like a heroine and philosopher, though at the same time the tenderest mother in the world, and my eldest daughter, followed me; some friends went with us, and others here took their leave; and I heard my behaviour applauded, with many murmurs and praises to which I well knew I had no title; as all other such philosophers may, if they have any modesty, confess on the like occasions.

In two hours we arrived in Redriffe,[1] and immediately went on board, and were to have sailed the next morning; but, as this was the king's proclamation-day, and consequently a holiday at the custom-house, the captain could not clear his vessel till the Thursday; for these holidays are as strictly observed as those in the popish calendar, and are almost as numerous. I might add that both are opposite to the genius of trade, and consequently *contra bonum publicum.*

To go on board the ship it was necessary first to go into a boat; a matter of no small difficulty, as I had no use of my limbs, and was to be carried by men who, though sufficiently strong for their burden, were, like Archimedes, puzzled to find a steady footing. Of this, as few of my readers have not gone into wherries on the Thames, they will easily be able to form to themselves an idea. However, by the assistance of my friend Mr. Welch, whom I never think or speak of but with love and es-

[1] Rotherhithe.—Ed.

teem, I conquered this difficulty, as I did afterwards that of ascending the ship, into which I was hoisted with more ease by a chair lifted with pulleys. I was soon seated in a great chair in the cabin, to refresh myself after a fatigue which had been more intolerable, in a quarter of a mile's passage from my coach to the ship, than I had before undergone in a land-journey of twelve miles, which I had travelled with the utmost expedition.

This latter fatigue was, perhaps, somewhat heightened by an indignation which I could not prevent arising in my mind. I think, upon my entrance into the boat, I presented a spectacle of the highest horror. The total loss of limbs was apparent to all who saw me, and my face contained marks of a most diseased state, if not of death itself. Indeed, so ghastly was my countenance, that timorous women with child had abstained from my house, for fear of the ill consequences of looking at me. In this condition I ran the gauntlope, (so I think I may justly call it,) through rows of sailors and watermen, few of whom failed of paying their compliments to me by all manner of insults and jests on my misery. No man who knew me will think I conceived any personal resentment at this behaviour; but it was a lively picture of that cruelty and inhumanity in the nature of men, which I have often contemplated with concern, and which leads the

mind into a train of very uncomfortable and melancholy thoughts. It may be said that this barbarous custom is peculiar to the English, and of them only to the lowest degree; that it is an excrescence of an uncontrolled licentiousness mistaken for liberty, and never shews itself in men who are polished and refined in such manner as human nature requires to produce that perfection of which it is susceptible, and to purge away that malevolence of disposition of which, at our birth, we partake in common with the savage creation.

This may be said, and this is all that can be said; and it is, I am afraid, but little satisfactory to account for the inhumanity of those who, while they boast of being made after God's own image, seem to bear in their minds a resemblance of the vilest species of brutes; or rather, indeed, of our idea of devils; for I don't know that any brutes can be taxed with such malevolence.

A surloin of beef was now placed on the table, for which, though little better than carrion, as much was charged by the master of the little paltry ale-house who dressed it as would have been demanded for all the elegance of the King's Arms, or any other polite tavern or eating-house: for indeed the difference between the best house and the worst is, that at the former you pay largely for luxury, at the latter for nothing.

Thursday, June 27.—This morning the captain, who lay on shore at his own house, paid us a visit in the cabin, and behaved like an angry bashaw, declaring that, had he known we were not to be pleased, he would not have carried us for five hundred pounds. He added many asseverations that he was a gentleman, and despised money; not forgetting several hints of the presents which had been made him for his cabin, of twenty, thirty, and forty guineas, by several gentlemen, over and above the sum for which they had contracted. This behaviour greatly surprised me, as I knew not how to account for it, nothing have happened since we parted from the captain the evening before in perfect good-humour; and all this broke forth on the first moment of his arrival this morning. He did not, however, suffer my amazement to have any long continuance before he clearly shewed me that all this was meant only as an apology to introduce another procrastination (being the fifth) of his weighing anchor; which was now postponed till Saturday, for such was his will and pleasure.

Besides the disagreeable situation in which we then lay, in the confines of Wapping and Redriffe, tasting a delicious mixture of the air of both these sweet places, and enjoying the concord of sweet sounds of seamen, watermen, fish-women, oyster-women, and of all the vociferous inhabitants of both shores, composing

altogether a greater variety of harmony than Hogarth's imagination hath brought together in that print of his, which is enough to make a man deaf to look at; I had a more urgent cause to press our departure, which was, that the dropsy, for which I had undergone three tappings, seemed to threaten me with a fourth discharge before I should reach Lisbon, and when I should have nobody on board capable of performing the operation; but I was obliged to hearken to the voice of reason, if I may use the captain's own words, and to rest myself contented. Indeed, there was no alternative within my reach, but what would have cost me much too dear.

There are many evils in society from which people of the highest rank are so entirely exempt, that they have not the least knowledge or idea of them; nor indeed of the characters which are formed by them. Such, for instance, is the conveyance of goods and passengers from one place to another. Now there is no such thing as any kind of knowledge contemptible in itself: and, as the particular knowledge I here mean is entirely necessary to the well understanding and well enjoying this journal; and, lastly, as in this case the most ignorant will be those very readers whose amusement we chiefly consult, and to whom we wish to be supposed principally to write, we will here enter somewhat largely into the

discussion of this matter; the rather, for that no ancient or modern author (if we can trust the catalogue of Doctor Mead's library) hath ever undertaken it, but that it seems (in the style of Don Quixote) a task reserved for my pen alone.

When I first conceived this intention, I began to entertain thoughts of enquiring into the antiquity of travelling; and, as many persons have performed in this way (I mean have travelled) at the expense of the public, I flattered myself that the spirit of improving arts and sciences, and of advancing useful and substantial learning, which so eminently distinguishes this age, and hath given rise to more speculative societies in Europe than I at present can recollect the names of—perhaps indeed than I or any other, besides their very near neighbours, ever heard mentioned—would assist in promoting so curious a work: a work begun with the same views, calculated for the same purposes, and fitted for the same uses, with the labours which those right honourable societies have so cheerfully undertaken themselves, and encouraged in others; sometimes with the highest honours, even with admission into their colleges, and with inrolment among their members.

From these societies I promised myself all assistance in their power, particularly the communication of such valuable manuscripts and

records as they must be supposed to have collected from those obscure ages of antiquity when history yields us such imperfect accounts of the residence, and much more imperfect of the travels, of the human race; unless, perhaps, as a curious and learned member of the young Society of Antiquarians is said to have hinted his conjectures, that their residence and their travels were one and the same; and this discovery (for such it seems to be) he is said to have owed to the lighting by accident on a book, which we shall have occasion to mention presently, the contents of which were then little known to the society.

The King of Prussia, moreover, who, from a degree of benevolence and taste which in either case is a rare production in so northern a climate, is the great encourager of art and science, I was well assured would promote so useful a design, and order his archives to be searched in my behalf.

But after well weighing all these advantages, and much meditation on the order of my work, my whole design was subverted in a moment by hearing of the discovery just mentioned to have been made by the young antiquarian, who, from the most ancient record in the world, (though I don't find the society are all agreed in this point,) one long preceding the date of the earliest modern collections, either of books or butterflies, none of which pretend

to go beyond the flood, shews us that the first man was a traveller, and that he and his family were scarce settled in Paradise before they disliked their own home, and became passengers to another place. Hence it appears that the humour of travelling is as old as the human race, and that it was their curse from the beginning.

By this discovery my plan became much shortened, and I found it only necessary to treat of the conveyance of goods and passengers from place to place; which, not being universally known, seemed proper to be explained before we examined into its original. There are indeed two different ways of tracing all things, used by the historian and the antiquary; these are upwards and downwards. The former shews you how things are, and leaves to others to discover when they began to be so. The latter shews you how things were, and leaves their present existence to be examined by others. Hence the former is more useful, the latter more curious. The former receives the thanks of mankind; the latter of that valuable part, the virtuosi.

In explaining, therefore, this mystery of carrying goods and passengers from one place to another, hitherto so profound a secret to the very best of our readers, we shall pursue the historical method, and endeavour to shew by what means it is at present performed, refer-

ring the more curious enquiry either to some other pen or to some other opportunity.

Now there are two general ways of performing (if God permit) this conveyance, viz., by land and water, both of which have much variety; that by land being performed in different vehicles, such as coaches, caravans, waggons, &c.; and that by water in ships, barges, and boats, of various sizes and denominations. But, as all these methods of conveyance are formed on the same principles, they agree so well together, that it is fully sufficient to comprehend them all in the general view, without descending to such minute particulars as would distinguish one method from another.

Common to all of these is one general principle, that, as the goods to be conveyed are usually the larger, so they are to be chiefly considered in the conveyance; the owner being indeed little more than an appendage to his trunk, or box, or bale, or at best a small part of his own baggage, very little care is to be taken in stowing or packing them up with convenience to himself; for the conveyance is not of passengers and goods, but of goods and passengers.

Secondly, From this conveyance arises a new kind of relation, or rather of subjection, in the society; by which the passenger becomes bound in allegiance to his conveyer.

This allegiance is indeed only temporary and local, but the most absolute during its continuance of any known in Great Britain, and, to say truth, scarce consistent with the liberties of a free people; nor could it be reconciled with them, did it not move downwards, a circumstance universally apprehended to be incompatible to all kinds of slavery. For Aristotle, in his "Politics," hath proved abundantly to my satisfaction that no men are born to be slaves, except barbarians; and these only to such as are not themselves barbarians; and indeed Mr. Montesquieu hath carried it very little farther in the case of the Africans; the real truth being that no man is born to be a slave, unless to him who is able to make him so.

Thirdly, This subjection is absolute, and consists of a perfect resignation both of body and soul to the disposal of another; after which resignation, during a certain time, his subject retains no more power over his own will than an Asiatic slave, or an English wife, by the laws of both countries, and by the customs of one of them. If I should mention the instance of a stage-coachman, many of my readers would recognize the truth of what I have here observed; all, indeed, that ever have been under the dominion of that tyrant, who in this free country is as absolute as a Turkish bashaw. In two particulars only his power is defective;

he cannot press you into his service, and if you enter yourself at one place, on condition of being discharged at a certain time at another, he is obliged to perform his agreement, if God permit: but all the intermediate time you are absolutely under his government; he carries you how he will, when he will, and whither he will, provided it be not much out of the road; you have nothing to eat or to drink, but what, and when, and where he pleases. Nay, you cannot sleep unless he pleases you should; for he will order you sometimes out of bed at midnight and hurry you away at a moment's warning: indeed, if you can sleep in his vehicle he cannot prevent it; nay, indeed, to give him his due, this he is ordinarily disposed to encourage: for the earlier he forces you to rise in the morning, the more time he will give you in the heat of the day, sometimes even six hours at an ale-house, or at their doors, where he always gives you the same indulgence which he allows himself; and for this he is generally very moderate in his demands. I have known a whole bundle of passengers charged no more than half-a-crown for being suffered to remain quiet at an ale-house door for above a whole hour, and that even in the hottest day in summer.

But as this kind of tyranny, though it hath escaped our political writers, hath been I think touched by our dramatic, and is more trite among the generality of readers; and as this

and all other kinds of such subjection are alike unknown to my friends, I will quit the passengers by land, and treat of those who travel by water; for whatever is said on this subject is applicable to both alike, and we may bring them together as closely as they are brought in the liturgy, when they are recommended to the prayers of all Christian congregations; and (which I have often thought very remarkable) where they are joined with other miserable wretches, such as women in labour, people in sickness, infants just born, prisoners and captives.

Goods and passengers are conveyed by water in divers vehicles, the principal of which being a ship, it shall suffice to mention that alone. Here the tyrant doth not derive his title, as the stage-coachman doth, from the vehicle itself in which he stows his goods and passengers, but he is called the captain—a word of such various use and uncertain signification, that it seems very difficult to fix any positive idea to it: if, indeed, there be any general meaning which may comprehend all its different uses, that of the head or chief of any body of men seems to be most capable of this comprehension; for whether they be a company of soldiers, a crew of sailors, or a gang of rogues, he who is at the head of them is always styled the captain.

The particular tyrant, whose fortune it was to stow us aboard, laid a farther claim to this

appellation than the bare command of a vehicle of conveyance. He had been the captain of a privateer, which he chose to call being in the king's service, and thence derived a right of hoisting the military ornament of a cockade over the button of his hat. He likewise wore a sword of no ordinary length by his side, with which he swaggered in his cabin, among the wretches his passengers, whom he had stowed in cupboards on each side. He was a person of a very singular character. He had taken it into his head that he was a gentleman, from those very reasons that proved he was not one; and to shew himself a fine gentleman, by a behaviour which seemed to insinuate he had never seen one. He was, moreover, a man of gallantry; at the age of seventy he had the finicalness of Sir Courtly Nice, with the roughness of Surly; and, while he was deaf himself, had a voice capable of deafening all others.

Now, as I saw myself in danger by the delays of the captain—who was, in reality, waiting for more freight—and as the wind had been long nested, as it were, in the south-west, where it constantly blew hurricanes, I began with great reason to apprehend that our voyage might be long, and that my belly, which began already to be much extended, would require the water to be let out at a time when no assistance was at hand; though, indeed, the captain comforted me with assurances that he had a pretty

young fellow on board who acted as his surgeon, as I found he likewise did as steward, cook, butler, sailor. In short, he had as many offices as Scrub in the play, and went through them all with great dexterity; this of surgeon was, perhaps, the only one in which his skill was somewhat deficient, at least that branch of tapping for the dropsy; for he very ingenuously and modestly confessed he had never seen the operation performed, nor was possessed of that chirurgical instrument with which it is performed.

Friday June 28.—By way of prevention, therefore, I this day sent for my friend Mr. Hunter, the great surgeon and anatomist of Covent-garden; and, though my belly was not yet very full and tight, he let out ten quarts of water; the young sea-surgeon attending the operation, not as a performer, but as a student.

I was now eased of the greatest apprehension which I had from the length of the passage; and I told the captain I was become indifferent as to the time of his sailing. He expressed much satisfaction in this declaration, and at hearing from me that I found myself, since my tapping, much lighter and better. In this, I believe, he was sincere; for he was, as we shall have occasion to observe more than once, a very good-natured man; and, as he was a very brave one too, I found that the heroic constancy with which I had borne an opera-

tion, that is attended with scarce any degree of pain, had not a little raised me in his esteem. That he might adhere, therefore, in the most religious and rigorous manner to his word, when he had no longer any temptation from interest to break it, as he had no longer any hopes of more goods or passengers, he ordered his ship to fall down to Gravesend on Sunday morning, and there to wait his arrival.

Sunday, June 30.—Nothing worth notice passed till that morning, when my poor wife, after passing a night in the utmost torments of the toothache, resolved to have it drawn. I dispatched therefore a servant into Wapping to bring in haste the best tooth-drawer he could find. He soon found out a female of great eminence in the art; but when he brought her to the boat, at the water-side, they were informed that the ship was gone; for indeed she had set out a few minutes after his quitting her; nor did the pilot, who well knew the errand on which I had sent my servant, think fit to wait a moment for his return, or to give me any notice of his setting out, though I had very patiently attended the delays of the captain four days, after many solemn promises of weighing anchor every one of the three last.

But of all the petty bashaws or turbulent tyrants I ever beheld, this sour-faced pilot was the worst tempered; for, during the time that he had the guidance of the ship, which was till

we arrived in the Downs, he complied with no one's desires, nor did he give a civil word, or indeed a civil look, to any on board.

The tooth-drawer, who, as I said before, was one of great eminence among her neighbours, refused to follow the ship; so that my man made himself the best of his way, and with some difficulty came up with us before we were got under full sail; for after that, as we had both wind and tide with us, he would have found it impossible to overtake the ship till she was come to an anchor at Gravesend.

The morning was fair and bright, and we had a passage thither, I think, as pleasant as can be conceived: for, take it with all its advantages, particularly the number of fine ships you are always sure of seeing by the way, there is nothing to equal it in all the rivers of the the world. The yards of Deptford and of Woolwich are noble sights, and give us a just idea of the great perfection to which we are arrived in building those floating castles, and the figure which we may always make in Europe among the other maritime powers. That of Woolwich, at least, very strongly imprinted this idea on my mind; for there was now on the stocks there the *Royal Anne*, supposed to be the largest ship ever built, and which contains ten carriage-guns more than had ever yet equipped a first-rate.

It is true, perhaps, that there is more of os-

tentation than of real utility in ships of this vast and unwieldy burden, which are rarely capable of acting against an enemy; but if the building such contributes to preserve, among other nations, the notion of the British superiority in naval affairs, the expense, though very great, is well incurred, and the ostentation is laudable and truly political. Indeed, I should be sorry to allow that Holland, France, or Spain, possessed a vessel larger and more beautiful than the largest and most beautiful of ours; for this honour I would always administer to the pride of our sailors, who should challenge it from all their neighbours with truth and success. And sure I am that not our honest tars alone, but every inhabitant of this island, may exult in the comparison, when he considers the king of Great Britain as a maritime prince, in opposition to any other prince in Europe; but I am not so certain that the same idea of superiority will result from comparing our land forces with those of many other crowned heads. In numbers they all far exceed us, and in the goodness and splendor of their troops many nations, particularly the Germans and French, and perhaps the Dutch, cast us at a distance; for, however we may flatter ourselves with the Edwards and Henrys of former ages, the change of the whole art of war since those days, by which the advantage of personal strength is, in a manner, entirely lost, hath produced a

change in military affairs to the advantage of our enemies. As for our successes in later days, if they were not entirely owing to the superior genius of our general, they were not a little due to the superior force of his money. Indeed, if we should arraign Marshal Saxe of ostentation when he shewed his army, drawn up, to our captive general, the day after the battle of La Val, we cannot say that the ostentation was entirely vain; since he certainly shewed him an army which had not been often equalled, either in the number or goodness of the troops, and which, in those respects, so far exceeded ours, that none can ever cast any reflexion on the brave young prince who could not reap the laurels of conquest in that day; but his retreat will be always mentioned as an addition to his glory.

In our marine the case is entirely the reverse, and it must be our own fault if it doth not continue so; for continue so it will as long as the flourishing state of our trade shall support it, and this support it can never want till our legislature shall cease to give sufficient attention to the protection of our trade, and our magistrates want sufficient power, ability, and honesty, to execute the laws: a circumstance not to be apprehended, as it cannot happen till our senates and our benches shall be filled with the blindest ignorance, or with the blackest corruption.

Besides the ships in the docks, we saw many on the water: the yachts are sights of great parade, and the king's body yacht is, I believe, unequalled in any country for convenience as well as magnificence; both which are consulted in building and equipping her with the most exquisite art and workmanship.

We saw likewise several Indiamen just returned from their voyage. These are, I believe, the largest and finest vessels which are anywhere employed in commercial affairs. The colliers, likewise, which are very numerous, and even assemble in fleets, are ships of great bulk; and if we descend to those used in the American, African, and European trades, and pass through those which visit our own coasts, to the small craft that lie between Chatham and the Tower, the whole forms a most pleasing object to the eye, as well as highly warming to the heart of an Englishman who has any degree of love for his country, or can recognize any effect of the patriot in his constitution.

Lastly, the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, which presents so delightful a front to the water, and doth such honour at once to its builder and the nation, to the great skill and ingenuity of the one, and to the no less sensible gratitude of the other, very properly closes the account of this scene; which may well appear romantic to those who have not themselves

seen that, in this one instance, truth and reality are capable, perhaps, of exceeding the power of fiction.

When we had passed by Greenwich we saw only two or three gentlemen's houses, all of very moderate account, till we reached Gravesend; these are all on the Kentish shore, which affords a much drier, wholesomer, and pleasanter situation, than doth that of its opposite, Essex. This circumstance, I own, is somewhat surprising to me, when I reflect on the numerous villas that crowd the river from Chelsea upwards as far as Shepperton, where the narrower channel affords not half so noble a prospect, and where the continual succession of the small craft, like the frequent repetition of all things, which have nothing in them great, beautiful, or admirable, tire the eye, and give us distaste and aversion instead of pleasure. With some of these situations, such as Barnes, Mortlake, &c., even the shore of Essex might contend, not upon very unequal terms; but on the Kentish borders there are many spots to be chosen by the builder which might justly claim the preference over almost the very finest of those in Middlesex and Surrey.

How shall we account for this depravity in taste? for surely there are none so very mean and contemptible as to bring the pleasure of seeing a number of little wherries, gliding along after one another, in competition with what

we enjoy in viewing a succession of ships, with all their sails expanded to the winds, bounding over the waves before us.

And here I cannot pass by another observation on the deplorable want of taste in our enjoyments, which we shew by almost totally neglecting the pursuit of what seems to me the highest degree of amusement; this is, the sailing ourselves in little vessels of our own, contrived only for our ease and accommodation, to which such situations of our villas as I have recommended would be so convenient, and even necessary.

This amusement, I confess, if enjoyed in any perfection, would be of the expensive kind; but such expense would not exceed the reach of a moderate fortune, and would fall very short of the prices which are daily paid for pleasures of a far inferior rate. The truth, I believe, is, that sailing in the manner I have just mentioned is a pleasure rather unknown, or unthought of, than rejected by those who have experienced it; unless, perhaps, the apprehension of danger or sea-sickness may be supposed, by the timorous and delicate, to make too large deductions; insisting that all their enjoyments shall come to them pure and unmixed, and being ever ready to cry out,

——Nocet empta dolore voluptas.

This, however, was my present case; for the

ease and lightness which I felt from my tapping, the gaiety of the morning, the pleasant sailing with wind and tide, and the many agreeable objects with which I was constantly entertained during the whole way, were all suppressed and overcome by the single consideration of my wife's pain, which continued incessantly to torment her till we came to an anchor, when I dispatched a messenger in great haste for the best reputed operator in Gravesend. A surgeon of some eminence now appeared, who did not decline tooth-drawing, though he certainly would have been offended with the appellation of tooth-drawer no less than his brethren, the members of that venerable body, would be with that of barber, since the late separation between those long-united companies, by which, if the surgeons have gained much, the barbers are supposed to have lost very little.

This able and careful person (for so I sincerely believe he is) after examining the guilty tooth, declared that it was such a rotten shell, and so placed at the very remotest end of the upper jaw, where it was in a manner covered and secured by a large fine firm tooth, that he despaired of his power of drawing it.

He said, indeed, more to my wife, and used more rhetoric to dissuade her from having it drawn, than is generally employed to persuade young ladies to prefer a pain of three moments

to one of three months' continuance, (especially if those young ladies happen to be past forty or fifty years of age,) when, by submitting to support a racking torment, the only good circumstance attending which is, 'tis so short that scarce one in a thousand can cry out "I feel it," they are to do a violence to their charms, and lose one of those beautiful holders with which alone Sir Courtly Nice declares a lady can ever lay hold of his heart.

He said at last so much, and seemed to reason so justly, that I came over to his side, and assisted him in prevailing on my wife (for it was no easy matter) to resolve on keeping her tooth a little longer, and to apply to palliatives only for relief. These were opium applied to the tooth, and blisters behind the ears.

Whilst we were at dinner this day in the cabin, on a sudden the window on one side was beat into the room, with a crash, as if a twenty-pounder had been discharged among us. We were all alarmed at the suddenness of the accident, for which, however, we were soon able to account; for the sash, which was shivered all to pieces, was pursued into the middle of the cabin by the bowsprit of a little ship called a cod-smack, the master of which made us amends for running (carelessly at best) against us, and injuring the ship, in the sea-way; that is to say, by damning us all to hell, and uttering several pious wishes that it had done us

much more mischief. All which were answered in their own kind and phrase by our men, between whom and the other crew a dialogue of oaths and scurrility was carried on as long as they continued in each other's hearing.

It is difficult, I think, to assign a satisfactory reason why sailors in general should, of all others, think themselves entirely discharged from the common bands of humanity, and should seem to glory in the language and behaviour of savages! They see more of the world, and have, most of them, a more erudite education than is the portion of landmen of their degree. Nor do I believe that in any country they visit (Holland itself not excepted) they can ever find a parallel to what daily passes on the river Thames. Is it that they think true courage (for they are the bravest fellows upon earth) inconsistent with all the gentleness of a humane carriage, and that the contempt of civil order springs up in minds but little cultivated, at the same time and from the same principles with the contempt of danger and death? Is it——? In short, it is so; and how it comes to be so I leave to form a question in the Robin Hood Society, or to be propounded for solution among the enigmas in the Woman's Almanac for the next year.

Monday, July 1.—This day Mr. Welch took his leave of me after dinner; as did a young lady of her sister, who was proceeding with

my wife to Lisbon. They both set out together in a post-chaise for London.

Soon after their departure our cabin, where my wife and I were sitting together, was visited by two ruffians, whose appearance greatly corresponded with that of the sheriff's, or rather the knight-marshal's bailiffs. One of these especially, who seemed to affect a more than ordinary degree of rudeness and insolence, came in without any kind of ceremony, with a broad gold lace on his hat, which was cocked with much military fierceness on his head. An inkhorn at his button-hole and some papers in his hand sufficiently assured me what he was, and I asked him if he and his companion were not custom-house officers: he answered with sufficient dignity that they were, as an information which he seemed to conclude would strike the hearer with awe, and suppress all further enquiry; but, on the contrary, I proceeded to ask of what rank he was in the custom-house, and, receiving an answer from his companion, as I remember, that the gentleman was a riding surveyor, I replied that he might be a riding surveyor, but could be no gentleman, for that none who had any title to that denomination would break into the presence of a lady without any apology, or even moving his hat. He then took his covering from his head and laid it on the table, saying, he asked pardon, and blamed the mate, who should, he

said, have informed him if any persons of distinction were below. I told him he might guess by our appearance (which, perhaps, was rather more than could be said with the strictest adherence to truth) that he was before a gentleman and lady, which should teach him to be very civil in his behaviour, though we should not happen to be of that number whom the world calls people of fashion and distinction. However, I said, that as he seemed sensible of his error, and had asked pardon, the lady would permit him to put his hat on again if he chose it. This he refused with some degree of surliness, and failed not to convince me that, if I should condescend to become more gentle, he would soon grow more rude.

I now renewed a reflexion, which I have often seen occasion to make, that there is nothing so incongruous in nature as any kind of power with lowness of mind and of ability, and that there is nothing more deplorable than the want of truth in the whimsical notion of Plato, who tells us that "Saturn, well knowing the state of human affairs, gave us kings and rulers, not of human but divine original: for, as we make not shepherds of sheep, nor oxherds of oxen, nor goatherds of goats, but place some of our own kind over all as being better and fitter to govern them; in the same manner were demons by the divine love set over us as a race of beings of a superior order to men, and who,

with great ease to themselves, might regulate our affairs and establish peace, modesty, freedom, and justice; and, totally destroying all sedition, might complete the happiness of the human race. So far, at least, may even now be said with truth, that in all states which are under the government of mere man, without any divine assistance, there is nothing but labour and misery to be found. From what I have said, therefore, we may at least learn, with our utmost endeavours, to imitate the Saturnian institution; borrowing all assistance from our immortal part, while we pay to this the strictest obedience, we should form both our private œconomy and public policy from its dictates. By this dispensation of our immortal minds we are to establish a law, and to call it by that name. But if any government be in the hands of a single person, of the few, or of the many, and such governor or governors shall abandon himself or themselves to the unbridled pursuit of the wildest pleasures or desires, unable to restrain any passion, but possessed with an insatiable bad disease; if such shall attempt to govern, and at the same time to trample on all laws, there can be no means of preservation left for the wretched people." Plato de Leg., lib. iv. p. 713 C—714 B, edit. Serrani.

It is true that Plato is here treating of the highest or sovereign power in a state, but it is

as true that his observations are general and may be applied to all inferior powers; and, indeed, every subordinate degree is immediately derived from the highest; and, as it is equally protected by the same force and sanctified by the same authority, is alike dangerous to the well-being of the subject.

Of all powers, perhaps, there is none so sanctified and protected as this which is under our present consideration. So numerous, indeed, and strong, are the sanctions given to it by many Acts of Parliament, that, having once established the laws of customs on merchandise, it seems to have been the sole view of the legislature to strengthen the hands and to protect the persons of the officers who became established by those laws, many of whom are so far from bearing any resemblance to the Saturnian institution, and to be chosen from a degree of beings superior to the rest of the human race, that they sometimes seem industriously picked out of the lowest and vilest orders of mankind.

There is, indeed, nothing so useful to man in general, nor so beneficial to particular societies and individuals, as trade. This is that *alma mater* at whose plentiful breast all mankind are nourished. It is true, like other parents, she is not always equally indulgent to all her children; but, though she gives to her favourites a vast proportion of redundancy and super-

fluity, there are very few whom she refuses to supply with the conveniencies, and none with the necessaries, of life.

Such a benefactress as this must naturally be beloved by mankind in general; it would be wonderful, therefore, if her interest was not considered by them, and protected from the fraud and violence of some of her rebellious offspring, who, coveting more than their share or more than she thinks proper to allow them, are daily employed in meditating mischief against her, and in endeavouring to steal from their brethren those shares which this great *alma mater* had allowed them.

At length our governor came on board, and about six in the evening we weighed anchor, and fell down to the Nore, whither our passage was extremely pleasant, the evening being very delightful, the moon just past the full, and both wind and tide favourable to us.

Tuesday, July 2.—This morning we again set sail, under all the advantages we had enjoyed the evening before: this day we left the shore of Essex and coasted along Kent, passing by the pleasant island of Thanet, which is an island, and that of Sheppy, which is not an island, and about three o'clock, the wind being now full in our teeth, we came to an anchor in the Downs, within two miles of Deal.—My wife, having suffered intolerable pain from her tooth, again renewed her resolution of having

it drawn, and another surgeon was sent for from Deal, but with no better success than the former. He likewise declined the operation, for the same reason which had been assigned by the former: however, such was her resolution, backed with pain, that he was obliged to make the attempt, which concluded more in honour of his judgment than of his operation; for, after having put my poor wife to inexpressible torment, he was obliged to leave her tooth *in statu quo;* and she had now the comfortable prospect of a long fit of pain, which might have lasted her whole voyage, without any possibility of relief.

In these pleasing sensations, of which I had my just share, nature, overcome with fatigue, about eight in the evening resigned her to rest —a circumstance which would have given me some happiness, could I have known how to employ those spirits which were raised by it; but, unfortunately for me, I was left in a disposition of enjoying an agreeable hour without the assistance of a companion, which has always appeared to me necessary to such enjoyment; my daughter and her companion were both retired sea-sick to bed; the other passengers were a rude school-boy of fourteen years old and an illiterate Portuguese friar, who understood no language but his own, in which I had not the least smattering. The captain was the only person left in whose con-

versation I might indulge myself; but unluckily, besides a total ignorance of everything in the world but a ship, he had the misfortune of being so deaf, that to make him hear, I will not say understand, my words, I must run the risk of conveying them to the ears of my wife, who, though in another room, (called, I think, the state-room; being, indeed, a most stately apartment, capable of containing one human body in length, if not very tall, and three bodies in breadth,) lay asleep within a yard of me. In this situation necessity and choice were one and the same thing; the captain and I sat down together to a small bowl of punch, over which we both soon fell fast asleep, and so concluded the evening.

Wednesday, July 3.—This morning I awaked at four o'clock, for my distemper seldom suffered me to sleep later. I presently got up, and had the pleasure of enjoying the sight of a tempestuous sea for four hours before the captain was stirring; for he loved to indulge himself in morning slumbers, which were attended with a wind-music, much more agreeable to the performers than to the hearers, especially such as have, as I had, the privilege of sitting in the orchestra. At eight o'clock the captain rose, and sent his boat on shore. I ordered my man likewise to go in it, as my distemper was not of that kind which entirely deprives us of appetite. Now, though the captain had

well victualled his ship with all manner of salt provisions for the voyage, and had added great quantities of fresh stores, particularly of vegetables, at Gravesend, such as beans and peas, which had been on board only two days, and had possibly not been gathered above two more, I apprehended I could provide better for myself at Deal than the ship's ordinary seemed to promise. I accordingly sent for fresh provisions of all kinds from the shore, in order to put off the evil day of starving as long as possible. My man returned with most of the articles I sent for, and I now thought myself in a condition of living a week on my own provisions. I therefore ordered my own dinner, which I wanted nothing but a cook to dress and a proper fire to dress it at; but those were not to be had, nor indeed any addition to my roast mutton, except the pleasure of the captain's company, with that of the other passengers; for my wife continued the whole day in a state of dozing, and my other females, whose sickness did not abate by the rolling of the ship at anchor, seemed more inclined to empty their stomachs than to fill them. Thus I passed the whole day (except about an hour at dinner) by myself, and the evening concluded with the captain as the preceding one had done; one comfortable piece of news he communicated to me, which was, that he had no doubt of a prosperous wind in the morning;

but as he did not divulge the reasons of this confidence, and as I saw none myself, besides the wind being directly opposite, my faith in this prophecy was not strong enough to build any great hopes upon.

Thursday, July 4.—This morning, however, the captain seemed resolved to fulfil his own predictions, whether the wind would or no; he accordingly weighed anchor, and, taking the advantage of the tide when the wind was not very boisterous, he hoisted his sails; and, as if his power had been no less absolute over Æolus than it was over Neptune, he forced the wind to blow him on in its own despite.

But as all men who have ever been at sea well know how weak such attempts are, and want no authorities of Scripture to prove that the most absolute power of a captain of a ship is very contemptible in the wind's eye, so did it befall our noble commander, who, having struggled with the wind three or four hours, was obliged to give over, and lost in a few minutes all that he had been so long a-gaining; in short, we returned to our former station, and once more cast anchor in the neighbourhood of Deal.

Here, though we lay near the shore, that we might promise ourselves all the emolument which could be derived from it, we found ourselves deceived, and that we might with as much conveniency be out of the sight of land;

for, except when the captain launched forth his own boat, which he did always with great reluctance, we were incapable of procuring anything from Deal, but at a price too exorbitant, and beyond the reach even of modern luxury—the fare of a boat from Deal, which lay at two miles' distance, being at least three half-crowns, and, if we had been in any distress for it, as many half-guineas; for these good people consider the sea as a large common appendant to their manor, in which when they find any of their fellow-creatures impounded, they conclude that they have a full right of making them pay at their own discretion for their deliverance: to say the truth, whether it be that men who live on the sea-shore are of an amphibious kind, and do not entirely partake of human nature, or whatever else may be the reason, they are so far from taking any share in the distresses of mankind, or of being moved with any compassion for them, that they look upon them as blessings showered down from above, and which the more they improve to their own use, the greater is their gratitude and piety. Thus at Gravesend a sculler requires a shilling for going less way than he would row in London for threepence; and at Deal a boat often brings more profit in a day than it can produce in London in a week, or perhaps in a month; in both places the owner of the boat founds his demand on the necessity and distress

of one who stands more or less in absolute want of his assistance, and with the urgency of these always rises in the exorbitancy of his demand, without ever considering that, from these very circumstances, the power or ease of gratifying such demand is in like proportion lessened. Now, as I am unwilling that some conclusions, which may be, I am aware, too justly drawn from these observations, should be imputed to human nature in general, I have endeavoured to account for them in a way more consistent with the goodness and dignity of that nature. However it be, it seems a little to reflect on the governors of such monsters that they do not take some means to restrain these impositions, and prevent them from triumphing any longer in the miseries of those who are, in many circumstances at least, their fellow-creatures, and considering the distresses of a wretched seaman, from his being wrecked to his being barely wind-bound, as a blessing sent among them from above, and calling it by that blasphemous name.

Friday, July 5.—This day I sent a servant on board a man-of-war that was stationed here, with my compliments to the captain, to represent to him the distress of the ladies, and to desire the favour of his long-boat to conduct us to Dover, at about seven miles' distance; and at the same time presumed to make use of a great lady's name, the wife of the first

lord commissioner of the admiralty, who would, I told him, be pleased with any kindness shewn by him towards us in our miserable condition. And this I am convinced was true, from the humanity of the lady, though she was entirely unknown to me.

The captain returned a verbal answer to a long letter acquainting me that what I desired could not be complied with, it being a favour not in his power to grant. This might be, and I suppose was, true; but it is as true that, if he was able to write, and had pen, ink, and paper aboard, he might have sent a written answer, and that it was the part of a gentleman so to have done; but this is a character seldom maintained on the watery element, especially by those who exercise any power on it. Every commander of a vessel here seems to think himself entirely free from all those rules of decency and civility which direct and restrain the conduct of the members of a society on shore; and each, claiming absolute dominion in his little wooden world, rules by his own laws and his own discretion. I do not, indeed, know so pregnant an instance of the dangerous consequences of absolute power, and its aptness to intoxicate the mind, as that of those petty tyrants, who become such in a moment, from very well-disposed and social members of that communion in which they affect no superiority, but live in an orderly

state of legal subjection with their fellow-citizens.

Saturday, July 6.—This morning our commander, declaring he was sure the wind would change, took the advantage of an ebbing tide, and weighed his anchor. His assurance, however, had the same completion, and his endeavours the same success, with his former trial; and he was soon obliged to return once more to his old quarters. Just before we let go our anchor, a small sloop, rather than submit to yield us an inch of way, ran foul of our ship, and carried off her bowsprit. This obstinate frolic would have cost those aboard the sloop very dear, if our steersman had not been too generous to exert his superiority, the certain consequence of which would have been the immediate sinking of the other. This contention of the inferior with a might capable of crushing it in an instant may seem to argue no small share of folly or madness, as well as of impudence; but I am convinced there is very little danger in it: contempt is a port to which the pride of man submits to fly with reluctance, but those who are within it are always in a place of the most assured security; for whosoever throws away his sword prefers, indeed, a less honourable but much safer means of avoiding danger than he who defends himself with it. And here we shall offer another distinction, of the truth of which much reading

and experience have well convinced us, that as in the most absolute governments there is a regular progression of slavery downwards, from the top to the bottom, the mischief of which is seldom felt with any great force and bitterness but by the next immediate degree; so in the most dissolute and anarchical states there is as regular an ascent of what is called rank or condition, which is always laying hold of the head of him who is advanced but one step higher on the ladder, who might, if he did not too much despise such efforts, kick his pursuer headlong to the bottom. We will conclude this digression with one general and short observation, which will, perhaps, set the whole matter in a clearer light than the longest and most laboured harangue. Whereas envy, of all things, most exposes us to danger from others, so contempt, of all things, best secures us from them. And thus, while the dung-cart and the sloop are always meditating mischief against the coach and the ship, and throwing themselves designedly in their way, the latter consider only their own security, and are not ashamed to break the road and let the other pass by them.

Monday, July 8.—Having passed our Sunday without anything remarkable, unless the catching a great number of whitings in the afternoon may be thought so, we now set sail on Monday at six o'clock, with a little variation

of wind; but this was so very little, and the breeze itself so small, that the tide was our best and indeed almost our only friend. This conducted us along the short remainder of the Kentish shore. Here we passed that cliff of Dover which makes so tremendous a figure in Shakspeare, and which whoever reads without being giddy, must, according to Mr. Addison's observation, have either a very good head or a very bad one; but which, whoever contracts any such ideas from the sight of, must have at least a poetic if not a Shakspearian genius. In truth, mountains, rivers, heroes, and gods owe great part of their existence to the poets; and Greece and Italy do so plentifully abound in the former, because they furnished so glorious a number of the latter; who, while they bestowed immortality on every little hillock and blind stream, left the noblest rivers and mountains in the world to share the same obscurity with the eastern and western poets, in which they are celebrated.

This evening we beat the sea off Sussex, in sight of Dungeness, with much more pleasure than progress; for the weather was almost a perfect calm, and the moon, which was almost at the full, scarce suffered a single cloud to veil her from our sight.

Tuesday, Wednesday, July 9, 10.—These two days we had much the same fine weather, and made much the same way; but in the evening

of the latter day a pretty fresh gale sprung up at N.N.W., which brought us by the morning in sight of the Isle of Wight.

Thursday, July 11.—This gale continued till towards noon; when the east end of the island bore but little ahead of us. The captain swaggered and declared he would keep the sea; but the wind got the better of him, so that about three he gave up the victory, and, making a sudden tack, stood in for the shore, passed by Spithead and Portsmouth, and came to an anchor at a place called Ryde on the island.

A most tragical incident fell out this day at sea. While the ship was under sail, but making as will appear no great way, a kitten, one of four of the feline inhabitants of the cabin, fell from the window into the water: an alarm was immediately given to the captain, who was then upon deck, and received it with the utmost concern and many bitter oaths. He immediately gave orders to the steersman in favour of the poor thing, as he called it; the sails were instantly slackened, and all hands, as the phrase is, employed to recover the poor animal. I was, I own, extremely surprised at all this; less indeed at the captain's extreme tenderness than at his conceiving any possibility of success; for if puss had had nine thousand instead of nine lives, I concluded they had been all lost. The boatswain, how-

ever, had more sanguine hopes, for, having stript himself of his jacket, breeches, and shirt, he leapt boldly into the water, and to my great astonishment in a few minutes returned to the ship, bearing the motionless animal in his mouth. Nor was this, I observed, a matter of such great difficulty as it appeared to my ignorance, and possibly may seem to that of my fresh-water reader. The kitten was now exposed to air and sun on the deck, where its life, of which it retained no symptoms, was despaired of by all.

The captain's humanity, if I may so call it, did not so totally destroy his philosophy as to make him yield himself up to affliction on this melancholy occasion. Having felt his loss like a man, he resolved to shew he could bear it like one; and, having declared he had rather have lost a cask of rum or brandy, betook himself to threshing at backgammon with the Portuguese friar, in which innocent amusement they had passed about two-thirds of their time.

But as I have, perhaps, a little too wantonly endeavoured to raise the tender passions of my readers in this narrative, I should think myself unpardonable if I concluded it without giving them the satisfaction of hearing that the kitten at last recovered, to the great joy of the good captain, but to the

great disappointment of some of the sailors, who asserted that the drowning a cat was the very surest way of raising a favourable wind; a supposition of which, though we have heard several plausible accounts, we will not presume to assign the true original reason.

Friday, July 12.—This day our ladies went ashore at Ryde, and drank their afternoon tea at an ale-house there with great satisfaction: here they were regaled with fresh cream, to which they had been strangers since they left the Downs.

Saturday, July 13.—The wind seeming likely to continue in the same corner where it had been almost constantly for two months together, I was persuaded by my wife to go ashore and stay at Ryde till we sailed. I approved the motion much; for, though I am a great lover of the sea, I now fancied there was more pleasure in breathing the fresh air of the land: but how to get thither was the question; for, being really that dead luggage which I considered all passengers to be in the beginning of this narrative, and incapable of any bodily motion without external impulse, it was in vain to leave the ship, or to determine to do it, without the assistance of others. In one instance, perhaps, the living luggage is more difficult to be moved or removed than an equal or much superior weight of dead matter;

which, if of the brittle kind, may indeed be liable to be broken through negligence; but this, by proper care, may be almost certainly prevented; whereas the fractures to which the living lumps are exposed are sometimes by no caution avoidable, and often by no art to be amended.

I was deliberating on the means of conveyance, not so much out of the ship to the boat as out of a little tottering boat to the land; a matter which, as I had already experienced in the Thames, was not extremely easy, when to be performed by any other limbs than your own. Whilst I weighed all that could suggest itself on this head, without strictly examining the merit of the several schemes which were advanced by the captain and sailors, and, indeed, giving no very deep attention even to my wife, who, as well as her friend and my daughter, were exerting their tender concern for my ease and safety, Fortune, for I am convinced she had a hand in it, sent me a present of a buck; a present welcome enough of itself, but more welcome on account of the vessel in which it came, being a large hoy, which in some places would pass for a ship, and many people would go some miles to see the sight. I was pretty easily conveyed on board this hoy; but to get from hence to the shore was not so easy a task; for, however strange it may appear, the water itself did not extend so far; an

instance which seems to explain those lines of Ovid,

Omnia pontus erant, deerant quoque littora ponto,

in a less tautological sense than hath generally been imputed to them.

In fact, between the sea and the shore there was, at low water, an impassable gulf, if I may so call it, of deep mud, which could neither be traversed by walking nor swimming; so that for near one half of the twenty-four hours Ryde was inaccessible by friend or foe. But as the magistrates of this place seemed more to desire the company of the former than to fear that of the latter, they had begun to make a small causeway to the low-water mark, so that foot passengers might land whenever they pleased; but as this work was of a public kind, and would have cost a large sum of money, at least ten pounds, and the magistrates, that is to say, the churchwardens, the overseers, constable, and tithing-man, and the principal inhabitants, had every one of them some separate scheme of private interest to advance at the expense of the public, they fell out among themselves; and, after having thrown away one half of the requisite sum, resolved at least to save the other half, and rather be contented to sit down losers themselves than to enjoy any benefit which might bring in a greater profit to another. Thus that unanimity which is so

necessary in all public affairs became wanting, and every man, from the fear of being a bubble to another, was, in reality, a bubble to himself.

However, as there is scarce any difficulty to which the strength of men, assisted with the cunning of art, is not equal, I was at last hoisted into a small boat, and, being rowed pretty near the shore, was taken up by two sailors, who waded with me through the mud, and placed me in a chair on the land, whence they afterwards conveyed me a quarter of a mile farther, and brought me to a house which seemed to bid the fairest for hospitality of any in Ryde.

We brought with us our provisions from the ship, so that we wanted nothing but a fire to dress our dinner, and a room in which we might eat it. In neither of these had we any reason to apprehend a disappointment, our dinner consisting only of beans and bacon; and the worst apartment in his Majesty's dominions, either at home or abroad, being fully sufficient to answer our present ideas of delicacy.

Unluckily, however, we were disappointed in both; for when we arrived about four at our inn, exulting in the hopes of immediately seeing our beans smoking on the table, we had the mortification of seeing them on the table indeed, but without that circumstance which

would have made the sight agreeable, being in the same state in which we had dispatched them from our ship.

In excuse for this delay, though we had exceeded, almost purposely, the time appointed, and our provision had arrived three hours before, the mistress of the house acquainted us that it was not for want of time to dress them that they were not ready, but for fear of their being cold or overdone before we should come; which she assured us was much worse than waiting a few minutes for our dinner: an observation so very just, that it is impossible to find any objection in it; but, indeed, it was not altogether so proper at this time, for we had given the most absolute orders to have them ready at four, and had been ourselves, not without much care and difficulty, most exactly punctual in keeping to the very minute of our appointment. But tradesmen, inn-keepers, and servants, never care to indulge us in matters contrary to our true interest, which they always know better than ourselves; nor can any bribes corrupt them to go out of their way whilst they are consulting our good in our own despite.

Our disappointment in the other particular, in defiance of our humility, as it was more extraordinary, was more provoking. In short, Mrs. Francis (for that was the name of the good woman of the house) no sooner received the

news of our intended arrival than she considered more the gentility than the humanity of her guests, and applied herself not to that which kindles but to that which extinguishes fire, and, forgetting to put on her pot, fell to washing her house.

As the messenger who had brought my venison was impatient to be dispatched, I ordered it to be brought and laid on the table in the room where I was seated; and the table not being large enough, one side, and that a very bloody one, was laid on the brick floor. I then ordered Mrs. Francis to be called in, in order to give her instructions concerning it; in particular, what I would have roasted and what baked; concluding that she would be highly pleased with the prospect of so much money being spent in her house as she might have now reason to expect, if the wind continued only a few days longer to blow from the same points whence it had blown for several weeks past.

I soon saw good cause, I must confess, to despise my own sagacity. Mrs. Francis, having received her orders, without making any answer, snatched the side from the floor, which remained stained with blood, and, bidding a servant to take up that on the table, left the room with no pleasant countenance, muttering to herself that had she known the litter which was to have been made, she would not have

taken such pains to wash her house that morning. If this was gentility, much good may it do such gentlefolks; for her part she had no notion of it!

From these murmurs I received two hints. The one, that it was not from a mistake of our inclination that the good woman had starved us, but from wisely consulting her own dignity, or rather perhaps her vanity, to which our hunger was offered up as a sacrifice. The other, that I was now sitting in a damp room; a circumstance, though it had hitherto escaped my notice from the colour of the bricks, which was by no means to be neglected in a valetudinary state.

My wife, who, besides discharging excellently well her own and all tender offices becoming the female character; who, besides being a faithful friend, an amiable companion, and a tender nurse, could likewise supply the wants of a decrepit husband, and occasionally perform his part, had, before this, discovered the immoderate attention to neatness in Mrs. Francis, and provided against its ill consequences. She had found, though not under the same roof, a very snug apartment belonging to Mr. Francis, and which had escaped the mop by his wife's being satisfied it could not possibly be visited by gentlefolks.

This was a dry, warm, oaken-floored barn,

lined on both sides with wheaten straw, and opening at one end into a green field and a beautiful prospect. Here, without hesitation, she ordered the cloth to be laid, and came hastily to snatch me from worse perils by water than the common dangers of the sea.

Mrs. Francis, who could not trust her own ears, or could not believe a footman in so extraordinary a phenomenon, followed my wife, and asked her if she had indeed ordered the cloth to be laid in the barn? She answered in the affirmative; upon which Mrs. Francis declared she would not dispute her pleasure, but it was the first time, she believed, that quality had ever preferred a barn to a house. She shewed at the same time the most pregnant marks of contempt, and again lamented the labour she had undergone, through her ignorance of the absurd taste of her guests.

At length we were seated in one of the most pleasant spots, I believe, in the kingdom, and were regaled with our beans and bacon, in which there was nothing deficient but the quantity. This defect was however so deplorable that we had consumed our whole dish before we had visibly lessened our hunger. We now waited with impatience the arrival of our second course, which necessity, and not luxury, had dictated. This was a joint of mutton which Mrs. Frances had been ordered to provide; but when, being tired with expectation,

we ordered our servants *to see for something else,* we were informed that there was nothing else; on which Mrs. Francis, being summoned, declared there was no such thing as mutton to be had at Ryde. When I expressed some astonishment at their having no butcher in a village so situated, she answered they had a very good one, and one that killed all sorts of meat in season, beef two or three times a year, and mutton the whole year round; but that, it being then beans and peas time, he killed no meat, by reason he was not sure of selling it. This she had not thought worthy of communication, any more than that there lived a fisherman at next door, who was then provided with plenty of soles, and whitings, and lobsters, far superior to those which adorn a city feast. This discovery being made by accident, we completed the best, the pleasantest, and the merriest meal, with more appetite, more real solid luxury, and more festivity, than was ever seen in an entertainment at White's.

It may be wondered at, perhaps, that Mrs. Francis should be so negligent of providing for her guests, as she may seem to be thus inattentive to her own interest; but this was not the case; for, having clapped a poll-tax on our heads at our arrival, and determined at what price to discharge our bodies from her house, the less she suffered any other to share in the levy the clearer it came into her own pocket;

and that it was better to get twelve pence in a shilling than ten pence, which latter would be the case if she afforded us fish at any rate.

Thus we passed a most agreeable day, owing to good appetites and good humour; two hearty feeders which will devour with satisfaction whatever food you place before them; whereas, without these, the elegance of St. James's, the charde, the perigord-pie, or the ortolan, the venison, the turtle, or the custard, may titillate the throat, but will never convey happiness to the heart or cheerfulness to the countenance.

As the wind appeared still immovable, my wife proposed my lying on shore. I presently agreed, though in defiance of an Act of Parliament, by which persons wandering abroad and lodging in ale-houses are decreed to be rogues and vagabonds; and this too after having been very singularly officious in putting that law in execution.

My wife, having reconnoitred the house, reported that there was one room in which were two beds. It was concluded, therefore, that she and Harriot should occupy one and myself take possession of the other. She added likewise an ingenious recommendation of this room to one who had so long been in a cabin, which it exactly resembled, as it was sunk down with age on one side, and was in the form of a ship with gunwales too.

For my own part, I make little doubt but this apartment was an ancient temple, built with the materials of a wreck, and probably dedicated to Neptune in honour of The Blessing sent by him to the inhabitants; such blessings having in all ages been very common to them. The timber employed in it confirms this opinion, being such as is seldom used by any but shipbuilders. I do not find indeed any mention of this matter in Hearne; but perhaps its antiquity was too modern to deserve his notice. Certain it is that this island of Wight was not an early convert to Christianity; nay, there is some reason to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted. But I have only time to touch slightly on things of this kind, which, luckily for us, we have a society whose peculiar profession it is to discuss and develop.

Sunday, July 14.[1]—This morning early I summoned Mrs. Francis, in order to pay her the preceding day's account. As I could recollect only two or three articles I thought there was no necessity of pen and ink. In a single instance only we had exceeded what the law allows gratis to a foot-soldier on his march, viz., vinegar, salt, &c., and dressing his meat. I found, however, I was mistaken in my calcu-

[1] In both editions of 1755 and in the collected edition of 1762 this date is given as "Sunday, July 19"—as the previous day was Saturday, July 13, this must be the 14th. The dates following this have the corresponding corrections.—Ed.

lation; for when the good woman attended with her bill it contained as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Bread and beer	0	2	4
Wind	0	2	0
Rum	0	2	0
Dressing dinner	0	3	0
Tea	0	1	6
Firing	0	1	0
Lodging	0	1	6
Servants' lodging	0	0	6
	£0	13	10

Now that five people and two servants should live a day and night at a public-house for so small a sum will appear incredible to any person in London above the degree of a chimney-sweeper; but more astonishing will it seem that these people should remain so long at such a house without tasting any other delicacy than bread, small beer, a teacupful of milk, called cream, a glass of rum converted into punch by their own materials, and one bottle of *wind*, of which we only tasted a single glass, though possibly, indeed, our servants drank the remainder of the bottle.

This *wind* is a liquor of English manufacture, and its flavour is thought very delicious by the generality of the English, who drink it in great quantities. Every seventh year is thought to produce as much as the other six. It is then drank so plentifully that the whole nation are in a manner intoxicated by it; and conse-

quently very little business is carried on at that season.

It resembles in colour the red wine which is imported from Portugal, as it doth in its intoxicating quality; hence, and from this agreement in the orthography, the one is often confounded with the other, though both are seldom esteemed by the same person. It is to be had in every parish of the kingdom, and a pretty large quantity is consumed in the metropolis, where several taverns are set apart solely for the vendition of this liquor, the masters never dealing in any other.

The disagreement in our computation produced some small remonstrance to Mrs. Francis on my side; but this received an immediate answer: "She scorned to overcharge gentlemen; her house had been always frequented by the very best gentry of the island; and she had never had a bill found fault with in her life, though she had lived upwards of forty years in the house, and within that time the greatest gentry in Hampshire had been at it; and that Lawyer Willis never went to any other when he came to those parts. That for her part she did not get her livelihood by travellers, who were gone and away, and she never expected to see them more, but that her neighbours might come again; wherefore, to be sure, they had the only right to complain."

She was proceeding thus, and from her volu-

bility of tongue seemed likely to stretch the discourse to an immoderate length, when I suddenly cut all short by paying the bill.

This morning our ladies went to church, more, I fear, from curiosity than religion ; they were attended by the captain in a most military attire, with his cockade in his hat and his sword by his side. So unusual an appearance in this little chapel drew the attention of all present, and probably disconcerted the women, who were in dishabille, and wished themselves drest, for the sake of the curate, who was the greatest of their beholders.

While I was left alone I received a visit from Mr. Francis himself, who was much more considerable as a farmer than as an inn-holder. Indeed, he left the latter entirely to the care of his wife, and he acted wisely, I believe, in so doing.

As nothing more remarkable passed on this day I will close it with the account of these two characters, as far as a few days' residence could inform me of them. If they should appear as new to the reader as they did to me, he will not be displeased at finding them here.

This amiable couple seemed to border hard on their grand climacteric ; nor indeed were they shy of owning enough to fix their ages within a year or two of that time. They appeared to be rather proud of having employed their time well than ashamed of having lived so

long; the only reason which I could ever assign why some fine ladies, and fine gentlemen too, should desire to be thought younger than they really are by the contemporaries of their grandchildren. Some, indeed, who too hastily credit appearances, might doubt whether they had made so good a use of their time as I would insinuate, since there was no appearance of anything but poverty, want, and wretchedness, about their house; nor could they produce anything to a customer in exchange for his money but a few bottles of *wind*, and spirituous liquors, and some very bad ale, to drink; with rusty bacon and worse cheese to eat. But then it should be considered, on the other side, that whatever they received was almost as entirely clear profit as the blessing of a wreck itself; such an inn being the very reverse of a coffee-house; for here you can neither sit for nothing nor have anything for your money.

Again, as many marks of want abounded everywhere, so were the marks of antiquity visible. Scarce anything was to be seen which had not some scar upon it, made by the hand of Time; not an utensil, it was manifest, had been purchased within a dozen years last past; so that whatever money had come into the house during that period at least must have remained in it, unless it had been sent abroad for food, or other perishable commodities; but these were supplied by a small portion of the

fruits of the farm, in which the farmer allowed he had a very good bargain. In fact, it is inconceivable what sums may be collected by starving only, and how easy it is for a man to die rich if he will but be contented to live miserable.

Nor is there in this kind of starving anything so terrible as some apprehend. It neither wastes a man's flesh nor robs him of his cheerfulness. The famous Cornaro's case well proves the contrary; and so did Farmer Francis, who was of a round stature, had a plump round face, with a kind of smile on it, and seemed to borrow an air of wretchedness rather from his coat's age than from his own.

The truth is, there is a certain diet which emaciates men more than any possible degree of abstinence; though I do not remember to have seen any caution against it, either in Cheney, Arbuthnot, or in any other modern writer or regimen. Nay, the very name is not, I believe, in the learned Dr. James's Dictionary; all which is the more extraordinary as it is a very common food in this kingdom, and the college themselves were not long since very liberally entertained with it, by the present attorney and other eminent lawyers, in Lincoln's Inn Hall, and were all made horribly sick by it.

But though it should not be found among our English physical writers, we may be assured

of meeting with it among the Greeks; for nothing considerable in nature escapes their notice, though many things considerable in them, it is to be feared, have escaped the notice of their readers. The Greeks, then, to all such as feed too voraciously on this diet, give the name of Heautophagi, which our physicians will, I suppose, translate "men that eat themselves."

As nothing is so destructive to the body as this kind of food, so nothing is so plentiful and cheap; but it was perhaps the only cheap thing the farmer disliked. Probably living much on fish might produce this disgust; for Diodorus Siculus attributes the same aversion in a people of Æthiopia to the same cause; he calls them the fish-eaters, and asserts that they cannot be brought to eat a single meal with the Heautophagi by any persuasion, threat, or violence whatever, not even though they should kill their children before their faces.

What hath puzzled our physicians, and prevented them from setting this matter in the clearest light, is possibly one simple mistake, arising from a very excusable ignorance; that the passions of men are capable of swallowing food as well as their appetites; that the former, in feeding, resemble the state of those animals who chew the cud; and therefore, such men, in some sense, may be said to prey on them-

selves, and as it were to devour their own entrails. And hence ensues a meagre aspect, and thin habit of body, as surely as from what is called a consumption.

Our farmer was none of these. He had no more passion than an Ichthuophagus or Æthiopian fisher. He wished not for anything, thought not of anything; indeed, he scarce did anything or said anything. Here I cannot be understood strictly; for then I must describe a nonentity, whereas I would rob him of nothing but that free agency which is the cause of all the corruption and of all the misery of human nature. No man, indeed, ever did more than the farmer, for he was an absolute slave to labour all the week; but in truth, as my sagacious reader must have at first apprehended, when I said he resigned the care of the house to his wife, I meant more than I then expressed; even the house and all that belonged to it; for he was really a farmer, only under the direction of his wife. In a word, so composed, so serene, so placid a countenance, I never saw; and he satisfied himself by answering to every question he was asked, "I don't know anything about it, sir; I leaves all that to my wife."

Now, as a couple of this kind would, like two vessels of oil, have made no composition in life, and for want of all savour must have palled every taste; nature, or fortune, or both of

them, took care to provide a proper quantity of acid in the materials that formed the wife, and to render her a perfect helpmate for so tranquil a husband. She abounded in whatsoever he was defective; that is to say, in almost everything. She was indeed as vinegar to oil, or a brisk wind to a standing-pool, and preserved all from stagnation and corruption.

Quin the player, on taking a nice and severe survey of a fellow-comedian, burst forth into this exclamation: "If that fellow be not a rogue, God Almighty doth not write a legible hand." Whether he guessed right or no is not worth my while to examine; certain it is that the latter, having wrought his features into a proper harmony to become the characters of Iago, Shylock, and others of the same cast, gave us a semblance of truth to the observation that was sufficient to confirm the wit of it. Indeed, we may remark, in favour of the physiognomist, though the law has made him a rogue and vagabond, that Nature is seldom curious in her works within, without employing some little pains on the outside; and this more particularly in mischievous characters, in forming which, as Mr. Derham observes, in venomous insects, as the sting or saw of a wasp, she is sometimes wonderfully industrious. Now, when she hath thus completely armed her hero to carry on a war with man, she never fails of furnishing that innocent

lambkin with some means of knowing his enemy, and foreseeing his designs. Thus she hath been observed to act in the case of a rattlesnake, which never meditates a human prey without giving warning of his approach.

This observation will, I am convinced, hold most true, if applied to the most venomous individuals of human insects. A tyrant, a trickster, and a bully, generally wear the marks of their several dispositions in their countenances; so do the vixen, the shrew, the scold, and all other females of the like kind. But, perhaps, nature hath never afforded a stronger example of all this than in the case of Mrs. Francis. She was a short, squat woman; her head was closely joined to her shoulders, where it was fixed somewhat awry; every feature of her countenance was sharp and pointed; her face was furrowed with the small-pox; and her complexion, which seemed to be able to turn milk to curds, not a little resembled in colour such milk as had already undergone that operation. She appeared, indeed, to have many symptoms of a deep jaundice in her look; but the strength and firmness of her voice overbalanced them all; the tone of this was a sharp treble at a distance, for I seldom heard it on the same floor, but was usually waked with it in the morning, and entertained with it almost continually through the whole day.

Though vocal be usually put in opposition to

instrumental music, I question whether this might not be thought to partake of the nature of both; for she played on two instruments, which she seemed to keep for no other use from morning till night; these were two maids, or rather scolding-stocks, who, I suppose, by some means or other, earned their board, and she gave them their lodging gratis, or for no other service than to keep her lungs in constant exercise.

She differed, as I have said, in every particular from her husband; but very remarkably in this, that as it was impossible to displease him, so it was as impossible to please her; and as no art could remove a smile from his countenance, so could no art carry it into hers. If her bills were remonstrated against she was offended with the tacit censure of her fair-dealing; if they were not, she seemed to regard it as a tacit sarcasm on her folly, which might have set down larger prices with the same success. On this latter hint she did indeed improve, for she daily raised some of her articles. A pennyworth of fire was to-day rated at a shilling, to-morrow at eighteen-pence; and if she drest us two dishes for two shillings on the Saturday, we paid half-a-crown for the cookery of one on the Sunday; and, whenever she was paid, she never left the room without lamenting the small amount of her bill, saying, she knew not how it was that others got their

money by gentlefolks, but for her part she had not the art of it. When she was asked why she complained, when she was paid all she demanded, she answered, she could not deny that, nor did she know she omitted anything; but that it was but a poor bill for gentlefolks to pay.

I accounted for all this by her having heard, that it is a maxim with the principal inn-holders on the continent, to levy considerable sums on their guests, who travel with many horses and servants, though such guests should eat little or nothing in their houses: the method being, I believe, in such cases, to lay a capitation on the horses, and not on their masters. But she did not consider that in most of these inns a very great degree of hunger, without any degree of delicacy, may be satisfied; and that in all such inns there is some appearance, at least, of provision, as well as of a man cook to dress it, one of the hostlers being always furnished with a cook's cap, waistcoat, and apron, ready to attend gentlemen and ladies on their summons; that the case therefore of such inns differed from hers, where there was nothing to eat or to drink, and in reality no house to inhabit, no chair to sit upon, nor any bed to lie in; that one third or fourth part therefore of the levy imposed at inns was, in truth, a higher tax than the whole was when laid on in the other, where, in order to raise a small

sum, a man is obliged to submit to pay as many various ways for the same thing as he doth to the government for the light which enters through his own window into his own house, from his own estate; such are the articles of bread, and beer, firing, eating, and dressing dinner.

The foregoing is a very imperfect sketch of this extraordinary couple; for everything is here lowered instead of being heightened. Those who would see them set forth in more lively colours, and with the proper ornaments, may read the descriptions of the Furies in some of the classical poets, or of the Stoic philosophers in the works of Lucian.

Monday, July 15.—This day nothing remarkable passed; Mrs. Francis levied a tax of fourteen shillings for the Sunday. We regaled ourselves at dinner with venison and good claret of our own; and, in the afternoon, the women, attended by the captain, walked to see a delightful scene two miles distant, with the beauties of which they declared themselves most highly charmed at their return, as well as with the goodness of the lady of the mansion, who had slipt out of the way, that my wife and their company might refresh themselves with the flowers and fruits with which her garden abounded.

Tuesday, July 16.—This day, having paid our taxes of yesterday, we were permitted to regale

ourselves with more venison. Some of this we would willingly have exchanged for mutton; but no such flesh was to be had nearer than Portsmouth, from whence it would have cost more to convey a joint to us than the freight of a Portugal ham from Lisbon to London amounts to; for though the water-carriage be somewhat cheaper here than at Deal, yet can you find no waterman who will go on board his boat, unless by two or three hours' rowing he can get drunk for the residue of the week.

And here I have an opportunity, which possibly may not offer again, of publishing some observations on that political œconomy of this nation, which, as it concerns only the regulation of the mob, is below the notice of our great men; though on the due regulation of this order depend many emoluments, which the great men themselves, or at least many who tread close on their heels, may enjoy, as well as some dangers which may some time or other arise from introducing a pure state of anarchy among them. I will represent the case, as it appears to me, very fairly and impartially between the mob and their betters.

The whole mischief which infects this part of our œconomy arises from the vague and uncertain use of a word called liberty, of which, as scarce any two men with whom I have ever conversed seem to have one and the same idea,

I am inclined to doubt whether there be any simple universal notion represented by this word, or whether it conveys any clearer or more determinate idea than some of those old Punic compositions of syllables preserved in one of the comedies of Plautus, but at present, as I conceive, not supposed to be understood by any one.

By liberty, however, I apprehend, is commonly understood the power of doing what we please; not absolutely, for then it would be inconsistent with law, by whose control the liberty of the freest people, except only the Hottentots and wild Indians, must always be restrained.

But, indeed, however largely we extend, or however moderately we confine, the sense of the word, no politician will, I presume, contend that it is to pervade in an equal degree, and be with the same extent enjoyed by, every member of society; no such polity having been ever found, unless among those vile people just before commemorated. Among the Greeks and Romans the servile and free conditions were opposed to each other; and no man who had the misfortune to be enrolled under the former could lay any claim to liberty till the right was conveyed to him by that master whose slave he was, either by the means of conquest, of purchase, or of birth.

This was the state of all the free nations in

the world; and this, till very lately, was understood to be the case of our own.

I will not indeed say this is the case at present, the lowest class of our people having shaken off all the shackles of their superiors, and become not only as free, but even freer, than most of their superiors. I believe it cannot be doubted, though perhaps we have no recent instance of it, that the personal attendance of every man who hath three hundred pounds per annum, in parliament, is indispensably his duty; and that, if the citizens and burgesses of any city or borough shall choose such a one, however reluctant he appear, he may be obliged to attend, and be forcibly brought to his duty by the serjeant-at-arms.

Again, there are numbers of subordinate offices, some of which are of burden, and others of expense, in the civil government: all of which persons who are qualified are liable to have imposed on them, may be obliged to undertake and properly execute, notwithstanding any bodily labour, or even danger, to which they may subject themselves, under the penalty of fines and imprisonment; nay, and what may appear somewhat hard, may be compelled to satisfy the losses which are eventually incident, to that of sheriff in particular, out of their own private fortunes; and though this should prove the ruin of a family, yet the public, to

whom the price is due, incurs no debt or obligation to preserve its officer harmless, let his innocence appear ever so clearly.

I purposely omit the mention of those military or militiary duties which our old constitution laid upon its greatest members. These might, indeed, supply their posts with some other able-bodied men; but if no such could have been found, the obligation nevertheless remained, and they were compellable to serve in their own proper persons.

The only one, therefore, who is possessed of abolute liberty is the lowest member of the society, who, if he prefers hunger, or the wild product of the fields, hedges, lanes, and rivers, with the indulgence of ease and laziness, to a food a little more delicate, but purchased at the expense of labour, may lay himself under a shade; nor can be forced to take the other alternative from that which he hath, I will not affirm whether wisely or foolishly, chosen.

Here I may, perhaps, be reminded of the last Vagrant Act, where all such persons are compellable to work for the usual and accustomed wages allowed in the place; but this is a clause little known to the justices of the peace, and least likely to be executed by those who do know it, as they know likewise that it is formed on the ancient power of the justices to fix and settle these wages every year, making proper allowances for the scarcity and plenty

of the times, the cheapness and dearness of the place; and that *the usual and accustomed wages* are words without any force or meaning, when there are no such; but every man spunges and raps whatever he can get; and will haggle as long and struggle as hard to cheat his employer of twopence in a day's labour as an honest tradesman will to cheat his customers of the same sum in a yard of cloth or silk.

It is a great pity then that this power, or rather this practice, was not revived; but, this having been so long omitted that it is become obsolete, will be best done by a new law, in which this power, as well as the consequent power of forcing the poor to labour at a moderate and reasonable rate, should be well considered and their execution facilitated; for gentlemen who give their time and labour gratis, and even voluntarily, to the public, have a right to expect that all their business be made as easy as possible; and to enact laws without doing this is to fill our statute-books, much too full already, still fuller with dead letter, of no use but to the printer of the Acts of Parliament.

That the evil which I have here pointed at is of itself worth redressing, is, I apprehend, no subject of dispute; for why should any persons in distress be deprived of the assistance of their fellow-subjects, when they are willing amply to reward them for their labour? or, why should the lowest of the people be

permitted to exact ten times the value of their work? For those exactions increase with the degrees of necessity in their object, insomuch that on the former side many are horribly imposed upon, and that often in no trifling matters. I was very well assured that at Deal no less than ten guineas was required, and paid by the supercargo of an Indiaman, for carrying him on board two miles from the shore when she was just ready to sail; so that his necessity, as his pillager well understood, was absolute. Again, many others, whose indignation will not submit to such plunder, are forced to refuse the assistance, though they are often great sufferers by so doing. On the latter side, the lowest of the people are encouraged in laziness and idleness; while they live by a twentieth part of the labour that ought to maintain them, which is diametrically opposite to the interest of the public; for that requires a great deal to be done, not to be paid, for a little. And moreover, they are confirmed in habits of exaction, and are taught to consider the distresses of their superiors as their fair emolument.

But enough of this matter, of which I at first intended only to convey a hint to those who are alone capable of applying the remedy, though they are the last to whom the notice of those evils would occur, without some such monitor as myself, who am forced to travel

about the world in the form of a passenger. I cannot but say I heartily wish our governors would attentively consider this method of fixing the price of labour, and by that means of compelling the poor to work, since the due execution of such powers will, I apprehend, be found the true and only means of making them useful, and of advancing trade from its present visibly declining state to the height to which Sir William Petty, in his "Political Arithmetic," thinks it capable of being carried.

In the afternoon the lady of the above-mentioned mansion called at our inn, and left her compliments to us with Mrs. Francis, with an assurance that while we continued windbound in that place, where she feared we could be but indifferently accommodated, we were extremely welcome to the use of anything which her garden or her house afforded. So polite a message convinced us, in spite of some arguments to the contrary, that we were not on the coast of Africa, or on some island where the few savage inhabitants have little of human in them besides their form.

And here I mean nothing less than to derogate from the merit of this lady, who is not only extremely polite in her behaviour to strangers of her own rank, but so extremely good and charitable to all her poor neighbours who stand in need of her assistance, that she

hath the universal love and praises of all who live near her. But, in reality, how little doth the acquisition of so valuable a character, and the full indulgence of so worthy a disposition, cost those who possess it! Both are accomplished by the very offals which fall from a table moderately plentiful. That they are enjoyed therefore by so few arises truly from there being so few who have any such disposition to gratify, or who aim at any such character.

Wednesday, July 17.—This morning, after having been mulcted as usual, we dispatched a servant with proper acknowledgments of the lady's goodness; but confined our wants entirely to the productions of her garden. He soon returned, in company with the gardener, both richly laden with almost every particular which a garden at this most fruitful season of the year produces.

While we were regaling ourselves with these, towards the close of our dinner, we received orders from our commander, who had dined that day with some inferior officers on board a man-of-war, to return instantly to the ship; for that the wind was become favourable, and he should weigh that evening. These orders were soon followed by the captain himself, who was still in the utmost hurry, though the occasion of it had long since ceased; for the wind had, indeed, a little shifted that after-

noon, but was before this very quietly set down in its old quarters.

This last was a lucky hit for me; for, as the captain, to whose orders we resolved to pay no obedience, unless delivered by himself, did not return till past six, so much time seemed requisite to put up the furniture of our bed-chamber or dining-room, for almost every article, even to some of the chairs, were either our own or the captain's property; so much more in conveying it as well as myself, as dead a luggage as any, to the shore, and thence to the ship, that the night threatened first to overtake us. A terrible circumstance to me, in my decayed condition; especially as very heavy showers of rain, attended with a high wind, continued to fall incessantly; the being carried through which two miles in the dark, in a wet and open boat, seemed little less than certain death.

However, as my commander was absolute, his orders peremptory, and my obedience necessary, I resolved to avail myself of a philosophy which hath been of notable use to me in the latter part of my life, and which is contained in this hemistich of Virgil:—

——Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

The meaning of which, if Virgil had any, I think I rightly understood, and rightly applied.

As I was therefore to be entirely passive in

my motion, I resolved to abandon myself to the conduct of those who were to carry me into a cart when it returned from unloading the goods.

But before this the captain, perceiving what had happened in the clouds, and that the wind remained as much his enemy as ever, came upstairs to me with a reprieve till the morning. This was, I own, very agreeable news, and I little regretted the trouble of refurnishing my apartment, by sending back for the goods.

Mrs. Francis was not well pleased with this. As she understood the reprieve to be only till the morning, she saw nothing but lodging to be possibly added, out of which she was to deduct fire and candle, and the remainder, she thought, would scarce pay her for her trouble. She exerted therefore all the ill-humour of which she was mistress, and did all she could to thwart and perplex everything during the whole evening.

Thursday, July 18.—Early in the morning the captain, who had remained on shore all night, came to visit us, and to press us to make haste on board. "I am resolved," says he, "not to lose a moment now the wind is coming about fair: for my own part, I never was surer of a wind in all my life." I use his very words; nor will I presume to interpret or comment upon them farther than by observing that they were spoke in the utmost hurry.

We promised to be ready as soon as breakfast was over, but this was not so soon as was expected; for, on removing our goods the evening before, the tea-chest was unhappily lost.

Every place was immediately searched, and many where it was impossible for it to be; for this was a loss of much greater consequence than it may at first seem to many of my readers. Ladies and valetudinarians do not easily dispense with the use of this sovereign cordial in a single instance; but to undertake a long voyage, without any probability of being supplied with it the whole way, was above the reach of patience. And yet, dreadful as this calamity was, it seemed unavoidable. The whole town of Ryde could not supply a single leaf; for as to what Mrs. Francis and the shop called by that name, it was not of Chinese growth. It did not indeed in the least resemble tea, either in smell or taste, or in any particular, unless in being a leaf; for it was in truth no other than a tobacco of the mundungus species. And as for the hopes of relief in any other port, they were not to be depended upon; for the captain had positively declared he was sure of a wind, and would let go his anchor no more till he arrived in the Tajo.

When a good deal of time had been spent, most of it indeed wasted on this occasion, a thought occurred which every one wondered at its not having presented itself the first mo-

ment. This was to apply to the good lady, who could not fail of pitying and relieving such distress. A messenger was immediately dispatched with an account of our misfortune, till whose return we employed ourselves in preparatives for our departure, that we might have nothing to do but to swallow our breakfast when it arrived. The tea-chest, though of no less consequence to us than the military-chest of a general, was given up as lost, or rather as stolen; for though I would not, for the world, mention any particular name, it is certain we had suspicions, and all, I am afraid, fell on the same person.

The man returned from the worthy lady with much expedition, and brought with him a canister of tea, dispatched with so true a generosity, as well as politeness, that if our voyage had been as long again we should have incurred no danger of being brought to a short allowance in this most important article. At the very same instant likewise arrived William the footman, with our own tea-chest. It had been, indeed, left in the hoy, when the other goods were re-landed, as William, when he first heard it was missing, had suspected; and whence, had not the owner of the hoy been unluckily out of the way, he had retrieved it soon enough to have prevented our giving the lady an opportunity of displaying some part of her goodness.

To search the hoy was, indeed, too natural a suggestion to have escaped any one, nor did it escape being mentioned by many of us; but we were dissuaded from it by my wife's maid, who perfectly well remembered she had left the chest in the bed-chamber; for that she had never given it out of her hand in her way to or from the hoy; but William perhaps knew the maid better, and best understood how far she was to be believed; for otherwise he would hardly of his own accord, after hearing her declarations, have hunted out the hoy-man, with much pains and difficulty.

Thus ended this scene, which begun with such appearance of distress, and ended with becoming the subject of mirth and laughter.

Nothing now remained but to pay our taxes, which were indeed laid with inconceivable severity. Lodging was raised sixpence, fire in the same proportion, and even candles, which had hitherto escaped, were charged with a wantonness of imposition, from the beginning, and placed under the style of oversight. We were raised a whole pound, whereas we had only burned ten, in five nights, and the pound consisted of twenty-four.

Lastly an attempt was made which almost as far exceeds human credulity to believe, as it did human patience to submit to. This was to make us pay as much for existing an hour or two as for existing a whole day; and dress-

ing dinner was introduced as an article, though we left the house before either pot or spit had approached the fire. Here I own my patience failed me, and I became an example of the truth of the observation, "That all tyranny and oppression may be carried too far, and that a yoke may be made too intolerable for the neck of the tamest slave." When I remonstrated, with some warmth, against this grievance, Mrs. Francis give me a look, and left the room without making any answer. She returned in a minute, running to me with pen, ink, and paper, in her hand, and desired me to make my own bill; for she hoped, she said, I did not expect that her house was to be dirtied, and her goods spoiled and consumed, for nothing. "The whole is but thirteen shillings. Can gentlefolks lie a whole night at a public-house for less? If they can I am sure it is time to give off being a landlady: but pay me what you please; I would have people know that I value money as little as other folks. But I was always a fool, as I says to my husband, and never knows which side my bread is buttered of. And yet, to be sure, your honour shall be my warning not to be bit so again. Some folks knows better than other some how to make their bills. Candles! why yes, to be sure; why should not travellers pay for candles? I am sure I pays for my candles, and the chandler pays the King's Majesty for them; and if he

did not I must, so as it comes to the same thing in the end. To be sure I am out of sixteens at present, but these burn as white and as clear, though not quite so large. I expects my chandler here soon, or I would send to Portsmouth, if your honour was to stay any time longer. But when folks stays only for a wind, you knows there can be no dependence on such!" Here she put on a little slyness of aspect, and seemed willing to submit to interruption. I interrupted her, accordingly, by throwing down half a guinea, and declared I had no more English money, which was indeed true; and, as she could not immediately change the thirty-six shilling pieces, it put a final end to the dispute. Mrs. Francis soon left the room, and we soon after left the house; nor would this good woman see us, or wish us a good voyage.

I must not, however, quit this place, where we had been so ill-treated, without doing it impartial justice, and recording what may, with the strictest truth, be said in its favour.

First, then, as to its situation, it is, I think, most delightful, and in the most pleasant spot in the whole island. It is true it wants the advantage of that beautiful river which leads from Newport to Cowes; but the prospect here extending to the sea, and taking in Portsmouth, Spithead, and St. Helen's, would be more than a recompence for the loss of the Thames itself,

even in the most delightful part of Berkshire or Buckinghamshire, though another Denham, or another Pope, should unite in celebrating it. For my own part, I confess myself so entirely fond of a sea prospect, that I think nothing on the land can equal it; and if it be set off with shipping, I desire to borrow no ornament from the *terra firma*. A fleet of ships is, in my opinion, the noblest object which the art of man hath ever produced; and far beyond the power of those architects who deal in brick, in stone, or in marble.

When the late Sir Robert Walpole, one of the best of men and of ministers, used to equip us a yearly fleet at Spithead, his enemies of taste must have allowed that he, at least, treated the nation with a fine sight for their money. A much finer, indeed, than the same expense in an encampment could have produced. For what, indeed, is the best idea which the prospect of a number of huts can furnish to the mind, but of a number of men forming themselves into a society before the art of building more substantial houses was known? This, perhaps, would be agreeable enough; but, in truth, there is a much worse idea ready to step in before it, and that is of a body of cut-throats, the supports of tyranny, the invaders of the just liberties and properties of mankind, the plunderers of the industrious, the ravishers of the chaste, the murderers of the innocent, and,

in a word, the destroyers of the plenty, the peace, and the safety, of their fellow-creatures.

And what, it may be said, are these men-of-war which seem so delightful an object to our eyes? Are they not alike the support of tyranny and oppression of innocence, carrying with them desolation and ruin wherever their masters please to send them? This is indeed too true; and however the ship of war may, in its bulk and equipment, exceed the honest merchantman, I heartily wish there was no necessity for it; for though I must own the superior beauty of the object on one side, I am more pleased with the superior excellence of the idea which I can raise in my mind on the other; while I reflect on the art and industry of mankind engaged in the daily improvements of commerce to the mutual benefit of all countries, and to the establishment and happiness of social life.

This pleasant village is situated on a gentle ascent from the water, whence it affords that charming prospect I have above described. Its soil is a gravel, which, assisted with its declivity, preserves it always so dry that, immediately after the most violent rain, a fine lady may walk without wetting her silken shoes. The fertility of the place is apparent from its extraordinary verdure; and it is so shaded with large and flourishing elms, that its narrow lanes are a natural grove or walk, which, in

the regularity of its plantation, vies with the power of art, and in its wanton exuberancy greatly exceeds it.

In a field in the ascent of this hill, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, stands a neat little chapel. It is very small, but adequate to the number of inhabitants; for the parish doth not seem to contain above thirty houses.

At about two miles distant from this parish lives that polite and good lady to whose kindness we were so much obliged. It is placed on a hill whose bottom is washed by the sea, and which, from its eminence at top, commands a view of great part of the island as well as it does that of the opposite shore. This house was formerly built by one Boyce, who, from a blacksmith at Gosport, became possessed, by great success in smuggling, of forty thousand pound. With part of this he purchased an estate here, and by chance, probably, fixed on this spot for building a large house. Perhaps the convenience of carrying on his business, to which it is so well adapted, might dictate the situation to him. We can hardly, at least, attribute it to the same taste with which he furnished his house, or at least his library, by sending an order to a bookseller in London to pack him up five hundred pounds' worth of his handsomest books. They tell here several almost incredible stories of the ignorance, the

folly, and the pride, which this poor man and his wife discovered during the short continuance of his prosperity; for he did not long escape the sharp eyes of the revenue solicitors, and was, by extents from the Court of Exchequer, soon reduced below his original state to that of confinement in the Fleet. All his effects were sold, and among the rest his books, by an auction at Portsmouth, for a very small price; for the bookseller was now discovered to have been perfectly a master of his trade, and, relying on Mr. Boyce's finding little time to read, had sent him not only the most lasting wares of his shop, but duplicates of the same, under different titles.

His estate and house were purchased by a gentleman of these parts, whose widow now enjoys them, and who hath improved them, particularly her gardens, with so elegant a taste, that the painter who would assist his imagination in the composition of a most exquisite landscape, or the poet who would describe an earthly paradise, could nowhere furnish themselves with a richer pattern.

We left this place about eleven in the morning, and were again conveyed, with more sunshine than wind, aboard our ship.

Whence our captain had acquired his power of prophecy, when he promised us and himself a prosperous wind, I will not determine; it is sufficient to observe that he was a false prophet,

and that the weathercocks continued to point as before.

He would not, however, so easily give up his skill in prediction. He persevered in asserting that the wind was changed, and, having weighed his anchor, fell down that afternoon to St. Helen's, which was at about the distance of five miles; and whither his friend the tide, in defiance of the wind, which was most manifestly against him, softly wafted him in as many hours.

Here, about seven in the evening, before which time we could not procure it, we sat down to regale ourselves with some roasted venison, which was much better drest than we imagined it would be, and an excellent cold pasty which my wife had made at Ryde, and which we had reserved uncut to eat on board our ship, whither we all cheerfully exulted in being returned from the presence of Mrs. Francis, who, by the exact resemblance she bore to a Fury, seemed to have been with no great propriety settled in paradise.

Friday, July 19.—As we passed by Spithead on the preceding evening we saw the two regiments of soldiers who were just returned from Gibraltar and Minorca; and this day a lieutenant belonging to one of them, who was the captain's nephew, came to pay a visit to his uncle. He was what is called by some a very pretty fellow; indeed, much too pretty a fellow at his

years; for he was turned of thirty-four, though his address and conversation would have become him more before he had reached twenty. In his conversation, it is true, there was something military enough, as it consisted chiefly of oaths, and of the great actions and wise sayings of Jack, and Will, and Tom "of our regiment," a phrase eternally in his mouth; and he seemed to conclude that it conveyed to all the officers such a degree of public notoriety and importance that it intitled him, like the head of a profession, or a first minister, to be the subject of conversation among those who had not the least personal acquaintance with him. This did not much surprise me, as I have seen several examples of the same; but the defects in his address, especially to the women, were so great that they seemed absolutely inconsistent with the behaviour of a pretty fellow, much less of one in a red coat; and yet, besides having been eleven years in the army, he had had, as his uncle informed me, an education in France. This, I own, would have appeared to have been absolutely thrown away had not his animal spirits, which were likewise thrown away upon him in great abundance, borne the visible stamp of the growth of that country. The character to which he had an indisputable title was that of a merry fellow; so very merry was he that he laughed at everything he said, and always

before he spoke. Possibly, indeed, he often laughed at what he did not utter, for every speech begun with a laugh, though it did not always end with a jest. There was no great analogy between the characters of the uncle and the nephew, and yet they seemed entirely to agree in enjoying the honour which the redcoat did to his family. This the uncle expressed with great pleasure in his countenance, and seemed desirous of shewing all present the honour which he had for his nephew, who, on his side, was at some pains to convince us of his concurring in this opinion, and at the same time of displaying the contempt he had for the parts, as well as the occupation, of his uncle, which he seemed to think reflected some disgrace on himself, who was a member of that profession which makes every man a gentleman. Not that I would be understood to insinuate that the nephew endeavoured to shake off or disown his uncle, or indeed to keep him at any distance. On the contrary, he treated him with the utmost familiarity, often calling him Dick, and dear Dick, and old Dick, and frequently beginning an oration with D—n me, Dick.

All this condescension on the part of the young man was received with suitable marks of complacence and obligation by the old one; especially when it was attended with evidences of the same familiarity with general officers

and other persons of rank; one of whom, in particular, I know to have the pride and insolence of the Devil himself, and who, without some strong bias of interest, is no more liable to converse familiarly with a lieutenant than of being mistaken in his judgment of a fool; which was not, perhaps, so certainly the case of the worthy lieutenant, who, in declaring to us the qualifications which recommended men to his countenance and conversation, as well as what effectually set a bar to all hopes of that honour, exclaimed, "No, sir, by the D—, I hate all fools—No, d—n me, excuse me for that. That's a little too much, old Dick. There are two or three officers of our regiment whom I know to be fools; but d—n me if I am ever seen in their company. If a man hath a fool of a relation, Dick, you know he can't help that, old boy."

Such jokes as these the old man not only took in good part, but glibly gulped down the whole narrative of his nephew; nor did he, I am convinced, in the least doubt of our as readily swallowing the same. This made him so charmed with the lieutenant, that it is probable we should have been pestered with him the whole evening, had not the north wind, dearer to our sea-captain even than this glory of his family, sprung suddenly up, and called aloud to him to weigh his anchor.

While this ceremony was performing, the

sea-captain ordered out his boat to row the land-captain to shore; not indeed on an uninhabited island, but one which, in this part, looked but little better, not presenting us the view of a single house. Indeed, our old friend, when his boat returned on shore, perhaps being no longer able to stifle his envy of the superiority of his nephew, told us, with a smile, that the young man had a good five mile to walk before he could be accommodated with a passage to Portsmouth.

It appeared now that the captain had been only mistaken in the date of his prediction, by placing the event a day earlier than it happened; for the wind which now arose was not only favourable but brisk, and was no sooner in reach of our sails than it swept us away by the back of the Isle of Wight, and, having in the night carried us by Christchurch and Peverel Point, brought us the next noon, *Saturday, July* 20, off the island of Portland, so famous for the smallness and sweetness of its mutton, of which a leg seldom weighs four pounds. We would have bought a sheep, but our captain would not permit it; though he needed not have been in such a hurry, for presently the wind, I will not positively assert in resentment of his surliness, shewed him a dog's trick, and slily slipt back again to his summer-house in the south-west.

The captain now grew outrageous, and, de-

claring open war with the wind, took a resolution, rather more bold than wise, of sailing in defiance of it, and in its teeth. He swore he would let go his anchor no more, but would beat the sea while he had either yard or sail left. He accordingly stood from the shore, and made so large a tack that before night, though he seemed to advance but little on his way, he was got out of sight of land.

Towards the evening the wind began, in the captain's own language, to freshen; and indeed it freshened so much, that before ten it blew a perfect hurricane. The captain having got, as he supposed, to a safe distance, tacked again towards the English shore; and now the wind veered a point only in his favour, and continued to blow with such violence, that the ship ran above eight knots or miles an hour during this whole day and tempestuous night till bed-time. I was obliged to betake myself once more to my solitude, for my women were again all down in their sea-sickness, and the captain was busy on deck; for he began to grow uneasy, chiefly, I believe, because he did not well know where he was, and would, I am convinced, have been very glad to have been in Portland-road, eating some sheep's-head broth.

Having contracted no great degree of good-humour by living a whole day alone, without a single soul to converse with, I took but ill physic to purge it off, by a bed-conversation

with the captain, who, amongst many bitter lamentations of his fate, and protesting he had more patience than a Job, frequently intermixed summons to the commanding officer on the deck, who now happened to be one Morrison, a carpenter, the only fellow that had either common sense or common civility in the ship. Of Morrison he enquired every quarter of an hour concerning the state of affairs: the wind, the care of the ship, and other matters of navigation. The frequency of these summons, as well as the solicitude with which they were made, sufficiently testified the state of the captain's mind; he endeavoured to conceal it, and would have given no small alarm to a man who had either not learnt what it is to die, or known what it is to be miserable. And my dear wife and child must pardon me, if what I did not conceive to be any great evil to myself I was not much terrified with the thoughts of happening to them; in truth, I have often thought they are both too good and too gentle to be trusted to the power of any man I know, to whom they could possibly be so trusted.

Can I say then I had no fear? indeed I cannot. Reader, I was afraid for thee, lest thou shouldst have been deprived of that pleasure thou art now enjoying; and that I should not live to draw out on paper that military character which thou didst peruse in the journal of yesterday.

From all these fears we were relieved, at six in the morning, by the arrival of Mr. Morrison, who acquainted us that he was sure he beheld land very near; for he could not see half a mile, by reason of the haziness of the weather. This land he said was, he believed, the Berry Head, which forms one side of Torbay: the captain declared that it was impossible, and swore, on condition he was right, he would give him his mother for a maid. A forfeit which became afterwards strictly due, and payable; for the captain, whipping on his night-gown, ran up without his breeches, and within half an hour, returning into the cabin, wished me joy of our lying safe at anchor in the bay.

Sunday, July 21.—Things now began to put on an aspect very different from what they had lately worn; the news that the ship had almost lost its mizen, and that we had procured very fine clouted cream and fresh bread and butter from the shore, restored health and spirits to our women, and we all sat down to a very cheerful breakfast.

But, however pleasant our stay promised to be here, we were all desirous it should be short: I resolved immediately to dispatch my man into the country to purchase a present of cider, for my friends of that which is called Southam, as well as to take with me a hogshead of it to Lisbon; for it is, in my opinion, much more delicious than that which is the growth of

Herefordshire. I purchased three hogsheads for five pounds ten shillings, all which I should have scarce thought worth mentioning, had I not believed it might be of equal service to the honest farmer who sold it me, and who is by the neighbouring gentlemen reputed to deal in the very best, and to the reader, who, from ignorance of the means of providing better for himself, swallows at a dearer rate the juice of Middlesex turnip, instead of that Vinum Pomonæ which Mr. Giles Leverance of Cheeshurst, near Dartmouth in Devon, will, at the price of forty shillings per hogshead, send in double casks to any part of the world. Had the wind been very sudden in shifting, I had lost my cider by an attempt of a boatman to exact, according to custom. He required five shillings for conveying my man a mile and a half to the shore, and four more if he stayed to bring him back. This I thought to be such insufferable impudence that I ordered him to be immediately chased from the ship, without any answer. Indeed, there are few inconveniences that I would not rather encounter than encourage the insolent demands of these wretches, at the expense of my own indignation, of which I own they are not the only objects, but rather those who purchase a paltry convenience by encouraging them. But of this I have already spoken very largely. I shall conclude, therefore, with the leave which this

fellow took of our ship; saying he should know it again, and would not put off from the shore to relieve it in any distress whatever.

It will, doubtless, surprise many of my readers to hear that, when we lay at anchor within a mile or two of a town several days together, and even in the most temperate weather, we should frequently want fresh provisions and herbage, and other emoluments of the shore, as much as if we had been a hundred leagues from land. And this too while numbers of boats were in our sight, whose owners get their livelihood by rowing people up and down, and could be at any time summoned by a signal to our assistance, and while the captain had a little boat of his own, with men always ready to row it at his command.

This, however, hath been partly accounted for already by the imposing disposition of the people, who asked so much more than the proper price of their labour. And as to the usefulness of the captain's boat, it requires to be a little expatiated upon, as it will tend to lay open some of the grievances which demand the utmost regard of our legislature, as they affect the most valuable part of the king's subjects, those by whom the commerce of the nation is carried into execution.

Our captain then, who was a very good and experienced seaman, having been above thirty years the master of a vessel, part of which he

had served, so he phrased it, as commander of a privateer, and had discharged himself with great courage and conduct, and with as great success, discovered the utmost aversion to the sending his boat ashore whenever we lay windbound in any of our harbours. This aversion did not arise from any fear of wearing out his boat by using it, but was, in truth, the result of experience, that it was easier to send his men on shore than to recall them. They acknowledged him to be their master while they remained on shipboard, but did not allow his power to extend to the shores, where they had no sooner set their foot than every man became *sui juris*, and thought himself at full liberty to return when he pleased. Now it is not any delight that these fellows have in the fresh air, or verdant fields on the land. Every one of them would prefer his ship and his hammock to all the sweets of Arabia the Happy; but, unluckily for them, there are in every seaport in England certain houses whose chief livelihood depends on providing entertainment for the gentlemen of the jacket. For this purpose they are always well furnished with those cordial liquors which do immediately inspire the heart with gladness, banishing all careful thoughts, and indeed all others, from the mind, and opening the mouth with songs of cheerfulness and thanksgiving for the many wonderful blessings with which a seafaring life overflows.

For my own part, however whimsical it may appear, I confess I have thought the strange story of Circe in the Odyssey no other than an ingenious allegory; in which Homer intended to convey to his countrymen the same kind of instruction which we intend to communicate to our own in this digression. As teaching the art of war to the Greeks was the plain design of the Iliad, so was teaching them the art of navigation the no less manifest intention of the Odyssey. For the improvement of this, their situation was most excellently adapted; and accordingly we find Thucydides, in the beginning of his history, considers the Greeks as a set of pirates or privateers, plundering each other by sea. This being probably the first institution of commerce before the Ars Cauponaria was invented, and merchants, instead of robbing, began to cheat and outwit each other, and by degrees changed the Metabletic, the only kind of traffic allowed by Aristotle in his "Politics," into the Chrematistic.

By this allegory then I suppose Ulysses to have been the captain of a merchant-ship, and Circe some good ale-wife, who made his crew drunk with the spirituous liquors of those days. With this the transformation into swine, as well as all other incidents of the fable, will notably agree; and thus a key will be found out for unlocking the whole mystery, and forg-

ing at least some meaning to a story which, at present, appears very strange and absurd.

Hence, moreover, will appear the very near resemblance between the sea-faring men of all ages and nations; and here perhaps may be established the truth and justice of that observation, which will occur oftener than once in this voyage, that all human flesh is not the same flesh, but that there is one kind of flesh of landmen, and another of seamen.

Philosophers, divines, and others, who have treated the gratification of human appetites with contempt, have, among other instances, insisted very strongly on that satiety which is so apt to overtake them even in the very act of enjoyment. And here they more particularly deserve our attention, as most of them may be supposed to speak from their own experience, and very probably gave us their lessons with a full stomach. Thus hunger and thirst, whatever delight they may afford while we are eating and drinking, pass both away from us with the plate and the cup; and though we should imitate the Romans, if, indeed, they were such dull beasts, which I can scarce believe, to unload the belly like a dung-pot, in order to fill it again with another load, yet would the pleasure be so considerably lessened that it would scarce repay us the trouble of purchasing it with swallowing a bason of camomile tea. A second haunch of venison, or a

second dose of turtle, would hardly allure a city glutton with its smell. Even the celebrated Jew himself, when well filled with calipash and calipee, goes contentedly home to tell his money, and expects no more pleasure from his throat during the next twenty-four hours. Hence I suppose Dr. South took that elegant comparison of the joys of a speculative man to the solemn silence of an Archimedes over a problem, and those of a glutton to the stillness of a sow at her wash. A simile which, if it became the pulpit at all, could only become it in the afternoon.

Whereas in those potations which the mind seems to enjoy, rather than the bodily appetite, there is happily no such satiety; but the more a man drinks, the more he desires; as if, like Mark Anthony in Dryden, his appetite increased with feeding, and this to such an immoderate degree, *ut nullus sit desiderio aut pudor aut modus*. Hence, as with the gang of Captain Ulysses, ensues so total a transformation, that the man no more continues what he was. Perhaps he ceases for a time to be at all; or, though he may retain the same outward form and figure he had before, yet is his nobler part, as we are taught to call it, so changed, that, instead of being the same man, he scarce remembers what he was a few hours before. And this transformation, being once obtained, is so easily preserved by the same potations,

which induce no satiety, that the captain in vain sends or goes in quest of his crew. They know him no longer; or, if they do, they acknowledge not his power, having indeed as entirely forgotten themselves as if they had taken a large draught of the river of Lethe.

Nor is the captain always sure of even finding out the place to which Circe hath conveyed them. There are many of those houses in every port-town. Nay, there are some where the sorceress doth not trust only to her drugs; but hath instruments of a different kind to execute her purposes, by whose means the tar is effectually secreted from the knowledge and pursuit of his captain. This would, indeed, be very fatal, was it not for one circumstance; that the sailor is seldom provided with the proper bait for these harpies. However, the contrary sometimes happens, as these harpies will bite at almost anything, and will snap at a pair of silver buttons, or buckles, as surely as at the specie itself. Nay, sometimes they are so voracious, that the very naked hook will go down, and the jolly young sailor is sacrificed for his own sake.

In vain, at such a season as this, would the vows of a pious heathen have prevailed over Neptune, Æolus, or any other marine deity. In vain would the prayers of a Christian captain be attended with the like success. The wind may change how it pleases while all

hands are on shore; the anchor would remain firm in the ground, and the ship would continue in durance, unless, like other forcible prison-breakers, it forcibly got loose for no good purpose.

Now as the favour of winds and courts, and such like, is always to be laid hold on at the very first motion, for within twenty-four hours all may be changed again; so, in the former case, the loss of a day may be the loss of a voyage: for, though it may appear to persons not well skilled in navigation, who see ships meet and sail by each other, that the wind blows sometimes east and west, north and south, backwards and forwards, at the same instant; yet, certain it is that the land is so contrived, that even the same wind will not, like the same horse, always bring a man to the end of his journey; but that the gale which the mariner prayed heartily for yesterday, he may as heartily deprecate to-morrow; while all use and benefit which would have arisen to him from the westerly wind of to-morrow may be totally lost and thrown away by neglecting the offer of the easterly blast which blows to-day.

Hence ensues grief and disreputation to the innocent captain, loss and disappointment to the worthy merchant, and not seldom great prejudice to the trade of a nation whose manufactures are thus liable to lie unsold, in a foreign warehouse, the market being forestalled by

some rival whose sailors are under a better discipline. To guard against these inconveniences the prudent captain takes every precaution in his power; he makes the strongest contracts with his crew, and thereby binds them so firmly, that none but the greatest or least of men can break through them with impunity; but for one of these two reasons, which I will not determine, the sailor, like his brother fish the eel, is too slippery to be held, and plunges into his element with perfect impunity.

To speak a plain truth, there is no trusting to any contract with one whom the wise citizens of London call a bad man; for, with such a one, though your bond be ever so strong, it will prove in the end good for nothing.

What then is to be done in this case? What, indeed, but to call in the assistance of that tremendous magistrate, the justice of peace, who can, and often doth, lay good and bad men in equal durance; and, though he seldom cares to stretch his bonds to what is great, never finds anything too minute for their detention, but will hold the smallest reptile alive so fast in his noose, that he can never get out till he is let drop through it.

Why, therefore, upon the breach of those contracts, should not an immediate application be made to the nearest magistrate of this order, who should be empowered to convey

the delinquent either to ship or to prison, at the election of the captain, to be fettered by the leg in either place?

But, as the case now stands, the condition of this poor captain without any commission, and of this absolute commander without any power, is much worse than we have hitherto shewn it to be; for, notwithstanding all the aforesaid contracts to sail in the good ship the "Elizabeth," if the sailor should, for better wages, find it more his interest to go on board the better ship the "Mary," either before their setting out or on their speedy meeting in some port, he may prefer the latter without any other danger than that of "doing what he ought not to have done," contrary to a rule which he is seldom Christian enough to have much at heart, while the captain is generally too good a Christian to punish a man out of revenge only, when he is to be at a considerable expense for so doing. There are many other deficiencies in our laws relating to maritime affairs, and which would probably have been long since corrected, had we any seamen in the House of Commons. Not that I would insinuate that the legislature wants a supply of many gentlemen in the sea-service; but, as these gentlemen are by their attendance in the house unfortunately prevented from ever going to sea, and there learning what they might communicate to their landed brethren, these

latter remain as ignorant in that branch of knowledge as they would be if none but courtiers and fox-hunters had been elected into parliament, without a single fish among them. The following seems to me to be an effect of this kind, and it strikes me the stronger as I remember the case to have happened, and remember it to have been dispunishable. A captain of a trading vessel, of which he was part owner, took in a large freight of oats at Liverpool, consigned to the market at Bearkey: this he carried to a port in Hampshire, and there sold it as his own, and, freighting his vessel with wheat for the port of Cadiz, in Spain, dropt it at Oporto in his way; and there, selling it for his own use, took in a lading of wine, with which he sailed again, and, having converted it in the same manner, together with a large sum of money with which he was intrusted, for the benefit of certain merchants, sold the ship and cargo in another port, and then wisely sat down contented with the fortune he had made, and returned to London to enjoy the remainder of his days, with the fruits of his former labours and a good conscience.

The sum he brought home with him consisted of near six thousand pounds, all in specie, and most of it in that coin which Portugal distributes so liberally over Europe.

He was not yet old enough to be past all sense of pleasure, nor so puffed up with the

pride of his good fortune as to overlook his old acquaintances the journeymen tailors, from among whom he had been formerly pressed into the sea-service, and, having there laid the foundation of his future success by his shares in prizes, had afterwards become captain of a trading vessel, in which he purchased an interest, and had soon begun to trade in the honourable manner above mentioned.

The captain now took up his residence at an ale-house in Drury-lane, where, having all his money by him in a trunk, he spent above five pounds a day among his old friends the gentlemen and ladies of those parts.

The merchant of Liverpool, having luckily had notice from a friend during the blaze of his fortune, did, by the assistance of a justice of peace, without the assistance of the law, recover his whole loss. The captain, however, wisely chose to refund no more; but, perceiving with what hasty strides Envy was pursuing his fortune, he took speedy means to retire out of her reach, and to enjoy the rest of his wealth in an inglorious obscurity; nor could the same justice overtake him time enough to assist a second merchant, as he had done the first.

This was a very extraordinary case, and the more so as the ingenious gentleman had steered entirely clear of all crimes in our law.

Now, how it comes about that a robbery so

very easy to be committed, and to which there is such immediate temptation always before the eyes of these fellows, should receive the encouragement of impunity, is to be accounted for only from the oversight of the legislature, as that oversight can only be, I think, derived from the reasons I have assigned for it.

But I will dwell no longer on this subject. If what I have here said should seem of sufficient consequence to engage the attention of any man in power, and should thus be the means of applying any remedy to the most inveterate evils, at least, I have obtained my whole desire, and shall have lain so long windbound in the ports of this kingdom to some purpose. I would, indeed, have this work—which, if I should live to finish it, a matter of no great certainty, (if indeed of any great hope to me,) will be probably the last I shall ever undertake—to produce some better end than the mere diversion of the reader.

Monday.—This day our captain went ashore, to dine with a gentleman who lives in these parts, and who so exactly resembles the character given by Homer of Axylus, that the only difference I can trace between them is, the one, living by the highway, erected his hospitality chiefly in favour of land-travellers; and the other, living by the water-side, gratifies his humanity by accommodating the wants of the mariner.

In the evening our commander received a visit from a brother bashaw, who lay windbound in the same harbour. This latter captain was a Swiss. He was then master of a vessel bound to Guinea, and had formerly been a privateering, when our own hero was employed in the same laudable service. The honesty and freedom of the Switzer, his vivacity, in which he was in no respect inferior to his near neighbours the French, the awkward and affected politeness, which was likewise of French extraction, mixed with the brutal roughness of the English tar—for he had served under the colours of this nation, and his crew had been of the same—made such an odd variety, such a hotch-potch of character, that I should have been much diverted with him, had not his voice, which was as loud as a speaking-trumpet, unfortunately made my head ache. The noise which he conveyed into the deaf ears of his brother captain, who sat on one side of him, the soft addresses with which, mixed with awkward bows, he saluted the ladies on the other, were so agreeably contrasted, that a man must not only have been void of all taste of humour, and insensible of mirth, but duller than Cibber is represented in the "Dunciad," who could be unentertained with him a little while; for, I confess, such entertainments should always be very short, as they are very liable to pall. But he suffered not this to hap-

pen at present; for, having given us his company a quarter of an hour only, he retired, after many apologies for the shortness of his visit.

Tuesday.—The wind being less boisterous than it had hitherto been since our arrival here, several fishing-boats, which the tempestuous weather yesterday had prevented from working, came on board us with fish. This was so fresh, so good in kind, and so very cheap, that we supplied ourselves in great numbers, among which were very large soles at fourpence a pair, and whitings of almost a preposterous size at ninepence a score.

The only fish which bore any price was a john dory, as it is called. I bought one of at least four pounds weight for as many shillings. It resembles a turbot in shape, but exceeds it in firmness and flavour. The price had the appearance of being considerable when opposed to the extraordinary cheapness of others of value, but was, in truth, so very reasonable when estimated by its goodness, that it left me under no other surprise than how the gentlemen of this country, not greatly eminent for the delicacy of their taste, had discovered the preference of the dory to all other fish: but I was informed that Mr. Quin, whose distinguishing tooth hath been so justly celebrated, had lately visited Plymouth, and had done those honours to the dory which are so justly due to it from that sect of modern philosophers

who, with Sir Epicure Mammon, or Sir Epicure Quin, their head, seem more to delight in a fish-pond than in a garden, as the old Epicureans are said to have done.

Unfortunately for the fishmongers of London, the dory resides only in those seas; for could any of this company but convey one to the temple of luxury under the Piazza, where Macklin the high-priest daily serves up his rich offerings to that goddess, great would be the reward of that fishmonger, in blessings poured down upon him from the goddess, as great would his merit be towards the high-priest, who could never be thought to overrate such valuable incense.

And here, having mentioned the extreme cheapness of fish in the Devonshire sea, and given some little hint of the extreme dearness with which this commodity is dispensed by those who deal in it in London, I cannot pass on without throwing forth an observation or two, with the same view with which I have scattered my several remarks through this voyage, sufficiently satisfied in having finished my life, as I have probably lost it, in the service of my country, from the best of motives, though it should be attended with the worst of success. Means are always in our power; ends are very seldom so.

Of all the animal foods with which man is furnished, there are none so plenty as fish. A

little rivulet, that glides almost unperceived through a vast tract of rich land, will support more hundreds with the flesh of its inhabitants than the meadow will nourish individuals. But if this be true of rivers, it is much truer of the sea shores, which abound with such immense variety of fish that the curious fisherman, after he hath made his draught, often culls only the daintiest part and leaves the rest of his prey to perish on the shore.

If this be true it would appear, I think, that there is nothing which might be had in such abundance, and consequently so cheap, as fish, of which Nature seems to have provided such inexhaustible stores with some peculiar design. In the production of terrestrial animals she proceeds with such slowness, that in the larger kind a single female seldom produces more than one a year, and this again requires three, four, or five years more to bring it to perfection. And though the lesser quadrupeds, those of the wild kind particularly, with the birds, do multiply much faster, yet can none of these bear any proportion with the aquatic animals, of whom every female matrix is furnished with an annual offspring almost exceeding the power of numbers, and which, in many instances at least, a single year is capable of bringing to some degree of maturity.

What then ought in general to be so plentiful, what so cheap, as fish? What then so pro-

perly the food of the poor? So in many places they are, and so might they always be in great cities, which are always situated near the sea, or on the conflux of large rivers. How comes it then, to look no farther abroad for instances, that in our city of London the case is so far otherwise that, except that of sprats, there is not one poor palate in a hundred that knows the taste of fish?

It is true indeed that this taste is generally of such excellent flavour that it exceeds the power of French cookery to treat the palates of the rich with anything more exquisitely delicate; so that was fish the common food of the poor it might put them too much upon an equality with their betters in the great article of eating, in which, at present, in the opinion of some, the great difference in happiness between man and man consists. But this argument I shall treat with the utmost disdain: for if ortolans were as big as bustards, and at the same time as plenty as sparrows, I should hold it yet reasonable to indulge the poor with the dainty, and that for this cause especially, that the rich would soon find a sparrow, if as scarce as an ortolan, to be much the greater, as it would certainly be the rarer, dainty of the two.

Vanity or scarcity will always be the favourite of luxury, but honest hunger will be satisfied with plenty. Not to search deeper into the cause of the evil, I shall think it abund-

antly sufficient to propose the remedies of it. And, first, I humbly submit the absolute necessity of immediately hanging all the fishmongers within the bills of mortality; and, however it might have been some time ago the opinion of mild and temporizing men that the evil complained of might be removed by gentler methods, I suppose at this day there are none who do not see the impossibility of using such with any effect. *Cuncta prius tentanda* might have been formerly urged with some plausibility, but *cuncta prius tentata* may now be replied: for surely, if a few monopolizing fishmongers could defeat that excellent scheme of the Westminster market, to the erecting which so many justices of peace, as well as other wise and learned men, did so vehemently apply themselves, that they might be truly said not only to have laid the whole strength of their heads, but of their shoulders too, to the business, it would be a vain endeavour for any other body of men to attempt to remove so stubborn a nuisance.

If it should be doubted whether we can bring this case within the letter of any capital law now subsisting, I am ashamed to own it cannot; for surely no crime better deserves such punishment; but the remedy may, nevertheless, be immediate; and if a law was made the beginning of next sessions, to take place immediately, by which the starving thousands

of poor was declared to be felony, without benefit of clergy, the fishmongers would be hanged before the end of the sessions.

A second method of filling the mouths of the poor, if not with loaves at least with fishes, is to desire the magistrates to carry into execution one, at least, out of near a hundred Acts of Parliament, for preserving the small fry of the river of Thames, by which means as few fish would satisfy thousands as may now be devoured by a small number of individuals. But while a fisherman can break through the strongest meshes of an Act of Parliament, we may be assured he will learn so to contrive his own meshes that the smallest fry will not be able to swim through them.

Other methods may, we doubt not, be suggested by those who shall attentively consider the evil here hinted at; but we have dwelt too long on it already, and shall conclude with observing that it is difficult to affirm whether the atrocity of the evil itself, the facility of curing it, or the shameful neglect of the cure, be the more scandalous or more astonishing.

After having, however, gloriously regaled myself with this food, I was washing it down with some good claret, with my wife and her friend, in the cabin, when the captain's valet-de-chambre, head cook, house and ship steward, footman in livery and out on't, secretary and fore-mast man, all burst into the cabin at

once, being, indeed, all but one person, and, without saying by your leave, began to pack half a hogshead of small beer in bottles, the necessary consequence of which must have been either a total stop to conversation at that cheerful season when it is most agreeable, or the admitting that polyonymous officer aforesaid to the participation of it. I desired him therefore to delay his purpose a little longer, but he refused to grant my request; nor was he prevailed on to quit the room till he was threatened with having one bottle to pack more than his number, which then happened to stand empty within my reach.

With these menaces he retired at last, but not without muttering some menaces on his side, and which, to our great terror, he failed not to put into immediate execution.

Our captain was gone to dinner this day with his Swiss brother; and, though he was a very sober man, was a little elevated with some champagne, which, as it cost the Swiss little or nothing, he dispensed at his table more liberally than our hospitable English noblemen put about those bottles, which the ingenious Peter Taylor teaches a led captain to avoid by distinguishing by the name of that generous liquor, which all humble companions are taught to postpone to the flavour of methuen, or honest port.

While our two captains were thus regaling

themselves, and celebrating their own heroic exploits with all the inspiration which the liquor, at least, of wit could afford them, the polyonymous officer arrived, and, being saluted by the name of Honest Tom, was ordered to sit down and take his glass before he delivered his message; for every sailor is by turns his captain's mate over a can, except only that captain bashaw who presides in a man-of-war, and who upon earth hath no other mate, unless it be another of the same bashaws.

Tom had no sooner swallowed his draught than he hastily began his narrative, and faithfully related what had happened on board our ship; we say faithfully, though from what happened it may be suspected that Tom chose to add perhaps only five or six immaterial circumstances, as is always I believe the case, and may possibly have been done by me in relating this very story, though it happened not many hours ago.

No sooner was the captain informed of the interruption which had been given to his officer, and indeed to his orders—for he thought no time so convenient as that of his absence for causing any confusion in the cabin—than he leapt with such haste from his chair that he had like to have broke his sword, with which he always begirt himself when he walked out of his ship, and sometimes when he walked about in it; at the same time, grasping eagerly that

other implement called a cockade, which modern soldiers wear on their helmets with the same view as the ancients did their crests, to terrify the enemy, he muttered something, but so inarticulately that the word *damn* was only intelligible; he then hastily took leave of the Swiss captain, who was too well bred to press his stay on such an occasion, and leapt first from the ship to his boat, and then from his boat to his own ship, with as much fierceness in his looks as he had ever expressed on boarding his defenceless prey in the honourable calling of a privateer.

Having regained the middle deck, he paused a moment while Tom and others loaded themselves with bottles, and then descending into the cabin exclaimed with a thundering voice, "D—n me, why arn't the bottles stowed in, according to my orders?"

I answered him very mildly that I had prevented his man from doing it, as it was an inconvenient time to me, and as in his absence, at least, I esteemed the cabin to be my own. "Your cabin!" repeated he many times; "no, d—n me! 'tis my cabin. Your cabin! d—n me! I have brought my hogs to a fair market. I suppose, indeed, you think it your cabin, and your ship, by your commanding in it; but I will command in it, d—n me! I will shew the world I am the commander, and nobody but I! Did you think I sold you the command

of my ship for that pitiful thirty pounds? I wish I had not seen you nor your thirty pounds aboard of her." He then repeated the words thirty pounds often, with great disdain, and with a contempt which I own the sum did not seem to deserve in my eye, either in itself or on the present occasion; being, indeed, paid for the freight of —— weight of human flesh, which is above fifty per cent. dearer than the freight of any other luggage, whilst in reality it takes up less room; in fact, no room at all.

In truth, the sum was paid for nothing more than for a liberty to six persons (two of them servants) to stay on board a ship while she sails from one port to another, every shilling of which comes clear into the captain's pocket. Ignorant people may perhaps imagine, especially when they are told that the captain is obliged to sustain them, that their diet, at least, is worth something; which may probably be now and then so far the case as to deduct a tenth part from the net. profits on this account; but it was otherwise at present; for when I had contracted with the captain at a price which I by no means thought moderate, I had some content in thinking I should have no more to pay for my voyage; but I was whispered that it was expected the passengers should find themselves in several things; such as tea, wine, and such like; and particularly that gentlemen should stow of the latter a much

larger quantity than they could use, in order to leave the remainder as a present to the captain at the end of the voyage; and it was expected likewise that gentlemen should put aboard some fresh stores, and the more of such things were put aboard the welcomer they would be to the captain.

I was prevailed with by these hints to follow the advice proposed; and accordingly, besides tea and a large hamper of wine, with several hams and tongues, I caused a number of live chickens and sheep to be conveyed aboard; in truth, treble the quality of provision which would have supported the persons I took with me, had the voyage continued three weeks, as it was supposed, with a bare possibility, it might.

Indeed it continued much longer; but as this was occasioned by our being wind-bound in our own ports, it was by no means of any ill consequence to the captain, as the additional stores of fish, fresh meat, butter, bread, &c., which I constantly laid in, greatly exceeded the consumption, and went some way in maintaining the ship's crew. It is true I was not obliged to do this; but it seemed to be expected; for the captain did not think himself obliged to do it, and I can truly say I soon ceased to expect it of him. He had, I confess, on board a number of fowls and ducks sufficient for a West India voyage; all of them, as he often

said, "Very fine birds, and of the largest breed." This I believe was really the fact, and I can add that they were all arrived at the full perfection of their size. Nor was there, I am convinced, any want of provisions of a more substantial kind; such as dried beef, pork, and fish; so that the captain seemed ready to perform his contract, and amply to provide for his passengers. What I did then was not from necessity, but, perhaps, from a less excusable motive, and was by no means chargeable to the account of the captain.

But, let the motive have been what it would, the consequence was still the same; and this was such that I am firmly persuaded the whole pitiful thirty pound came pure and neat into the captain's pocket, and not only so, but attended with the value of ten pound more in sundries into the bargain. I must confess myself therefore at a loss how the epithet *pitiful* came to be annexed to the above sum; for, not being a pitiful price for what it was given, I cannot conceive it to be pitiful in itself; nor do I believe it is so thought by the greatest men in the kingdom; none of whom would scruple to search for it in the dirtiest kennel, where they had only a reasonable hope of success.

How, therefore, such a sum should acquire the idea of pitiful in the eyes of the master of a ship seems not easy to be accounted for; since it appears more likely to produce in him

ideas of a different kind. Some men, perhaps, are no more sincere in the contempt for it which they express than others in their contempt of money in general; and I am the rather inclined to this persuasion, as I have seldom heard of either who have refused or refunded this their despised object. Besides, it is sometimes impossible to believe these professions, as every action of the man's life is a contradiction to it. Who can believe a tradesman who says he would not tell his name for the profit he gets by the selling such a parcel of goods, when he hath told a thousand lies in order to get it?

Pitiful, indeed, is often applied to an object not absolutely, but comparatively with our expectations, or with a greater object: in which sense it is not easy to set any bounds to the use of the word. Thus, a handful of halfpence daily appear pitiful to a porter, and a handful of silver to a drawer. The latter, I am convinced, at a polite tavern, will not tell his name (for he will not give you any answer) under the price of gold. And in this sense thirty pound may be accounted pitiful by the lowest mechanic.

One difficulty only seems to occur, and that is this; how comes it that, if the profits of the meanest arts are so considerable, the professors of them are not richer than we generally see them? One answer to this shall suffice.

Men do not become rich by what they get, but by what they keep. He who is worth no more than his annual wages or salary, spends the whole; he will be always a beggar, let his income be what it will, and so will be his family when he dies. This we see daily to be the case of ecclesiastics, who, during their lives, are extremely well provided for, only because they desire to maintain the honour of the cloth by living like gentlemen, which would, perhaps, be better maintained by living unlike them.

But to return from so long a digression, to which the use of so improper an epithet gave occasion, and to which the novelty of the subject allured, I will make the reader amends by concisely telling him that the captain poured forth such a torrent of abuse that I very hastily, and very foolishly, resolved to quit the ship. I gave immediate orders to summon a hoy to carry me that evening to Dartmouth, without considering any consequence. Those orders I gave in no very low voice, so that those above stairs might possibly conceive there was more than one master in the cabin. In the same tone I likewise threatened the captain with that which, he afterwards said, he feared more than any rock or quicksand. Nor can we wonder at this when we are told he had been twice obliged to bring to and cast anchor there before, and had neither time escaped without the loss of almost his whole cargo.

The most distant sound of law thus frightened a man who had often, I am convinced, heard numbers of cannon roar round him with intrepidity. Nor did he sooner see the hoy approaching the vessel than he ran down again into the cabin, and, his rage being perfectly subsided, he tumbled on his knees, and a little too abjectly implored for mercy.

I did not suffer a brave man and an old man to remain a moment in this posture, but I immediately forgave him.

And here, that I may not be thought the sly trumpeter of my own praises, I do utterly disclaim all praise on the occasion. Neither did the greatness of my mind dictate, nor the force of my Christianity exact, this forgiveness. To speak truth, I forgave him from a motive which would make men much more forgiving if they were much wiser than they are, because it was convenient for me so to do.

Wednesday.—This morning the captain drest himself in scarlet in order to pay a visit to a Devonshire squire, to whom a captain of a ship is a guest of no ordinary consequence, as he is a stranger and a gentleman, who hath seen a great deal of the world in foreign parts, and knows all the news of the times.

The squire, therefore, was to send his boat for the captain, but a most unfortunate accident happened; for, as the wind was extremely rough and against the hoy, while this was

endeavouring to avail itself of great seamanship in hauling up against the wind, a sudden squall carried off sail and yard, or at least so disabled them that they were no longer of any use and unable to reach the ship; but the captain, from the deck, saw his hopes of venison disappointed, and was forced either to stay on board his ship, or to hoist forth his own long-boat, which he could not prevail with himself to think of, though the smell of the venison had had twenty times its attraction. He did, indeed, love his ship as his wife, and his boats as children, and never willingly trusted the latter, poor things! to the dangers of the seas.

To say truth, notwithstanding the strict rigour with which he preserved the dignity of his station, and the hasty impatience with which he resented any affront to his person or orders, disobedience to which he could in no instance brook in any person on board, he was one of the best natured fellows alive. He acted the part of a father to his sailors; he expressed great tenderness for any of them when ill, and never suffered any the least work of supererogation to go unrewarded by a glass of gin. He even extended his humanity, if I may so call it, to animals, and even his cats and kittens had large shares in his affections. An instance of which we saw this evening, when the cat, which had shewn it could not be drowned, was found suffocated under a feather-

bed in the cabin. I will not endeavour to describe his lamentations with more prolixity than barely by saying they were grievous, and seemed to have some mixture of the Irish howl in them. Nay, he carried his fondness even to inanimate objects, of which we have above set down a pregnant example in his demonstration of love and tenderness towards his boats and ship. He spoke of a ship which he had commanded formerly, and which was long since no more, which he had called the "Princess of Brazil," as a widower of a deceased wife. This ship, after having followed the honest business of carrying goods and passengers for hire many years, did at last take to evil courses and turn privateer, in which service, to use his own words, she received many dreadful wounds, which he himself had felt as if they had been his own.

Thursday.—As the wind did not yesterday discover any purpose of shifting, and the water in my belly grew troublesome and rendered me short-breathed, I began a second time to have apprehensions of wanting the assistance of a trochar when none was to be found; I therefore concluded to be tapped again by way of precaution; and accordingly I this morning summoned on board a surgeon from a neighbouring parish, one whom the captain greatly recommended, and who did indeed perform his office with much dexterity. He was, I believe,

likewise a man of great judgment and knowledge in the profession; but of this I cannot speak with perfect certainty, for when he was going to open on the dropsy at large, and on the particular degree of the distemper under which I laboured, I was obliged to stop him short, for the wind was changed, and the captain in the utmost hurry to depart; and to desire him, instead of his opinion, to assist me with his execution.

I was now once more delivered from my burden, which was not indeed so great as I had apprehended, wanting two quarts of what was let out at the last operation.

While the surgeon was drawing away my water the sailors were drawing up the anchor; both were finished at the same time; we unfurled our sails and soon passed the Berry Head, which forms the mouth of the bay.

We had not however sailed far when the wind, which had, though with a slow pace, kept us company about six miles, suddenly turned about, and offered to conduct us back again; a favour which, though sorely against the grain, we were obliged to accept.

Nothing remarkable happened this day; for as to the firm persuasion of the captain that he was under the spell of witchcraft, I would not repeat it too often, though indeed he repeated it an hundred times every day; in truth, he talked of nothing else; and seemed not only to

be satisfied in general of his being bewitched, but actually to have fixed with good certainty on the person of the witch, whom, had he lived in the days of Sir Matthew Hale, he would have infallibly indicted, and very possibly have hanged, for the detestable sin of witchcraft; but that law, and the whole doctrine that supported it, are now out of fashion; and witches, as a learned divine once chose to express himself, are put down by Act of Parliament. This witch, in the captain's opinion, was no other than Mrs. Francis of Ryde, who, as he insinuated, out of anger to me for not spending more money in her house than she could produce anything to exchange for, or any pretence to charge for, had laid this spell on his ship.

Though we were again got near our harbour by three in the afternoon, yet it seemed to require a full hour or more before we could come to our former place of anchoring, or berth, as the captain called it. On this occasion we exemplified one of the few advantages which the travellers by water have over the travellers by land. What would the latter often give for the sight of one of those hospitable mansions where he is assured *that there is good entertainment for man and horse;* and where both may consequently promise themselves to assuage that hunger which exercise is so sure to raise in a healthy constitution.

At their arrival at this mansion, how much

happier is the state of the horse than that of the master! The former is immediately led to his repast, such as it is, and, whatever it is, he falls to it with appetite. But the latter is in a much worse situation. His hunger, however violent, is always in some degree delicate, and his food must have some kind of ornament, or, as the more usual phrase is, of dressing, to recommend it. Now all dressing requires time, and therefore, though perhaps the sheep might be just killed before you came to the inn, yet in cutting him up, fetching the joint, which the landlord by mistake said he had in the house, from the butcher at two miles' distance, and afterwards warming it a little by the fire, two hours at least must be consumed, while hunger, for want of better food, preys all the time on the vitals of the man.

How different was the case with us! we carried our provision, our kitchen, and our cook with us, and we were at one and the same time travelling on our road, and sitting down to a repast of fish, with which the greatest table in London can scarce at any rate be supplied.

Friday.—As we were disappointed of our wind, and obliged to return back the preceding evening, we resolved to extract all the good we could out of our misfortune, and to add considerably to our fresh stores of meat and bread, with which we were very indifferently pro-

vided when we hurried away yesterday. By the captain's advice we likewise laid in some stores of butter, which we salted and potted ourselves, for our use at Lisbon, and we had great reason afterwards to thank him for his advice.

In the afternoon I persuaded my wife, whom it was no easy matter for me to force from my side, to take a walk on shore, whither the gallant captain declared he was ready to attend her. Accordingly the ladies set out, and left me to enjoy a sweet and comfortable nap after the operation of the preceding day.

Thus we enjoyed our separate pleasures full three hours, when we met again, and my wife gave the foregoing account of the gentleman whom I have before compared to Axylus, and of his habitation, to both which she had been introduced by the captain, in the style of an old friend and acquaintance, though this foundation of intimacy seemed to her to be no deeper laid than in an accidental dinner, eaten many years before, at this temple of hospitality, when the captain lay wind-bound in the same bay.

Saturday.—Early this morning the wind seemed inclined to change in our favour. Our alert captain snatched its very first motion, and got under sail with so very gentle a breeze that, as the tide was against him, he recommended to a fishing hoy to bring after him a vast salmon

and some other provisions which lay ready for him on shore.

Our anchor was up at six, and before nine in the morning we had doubled the Berry Head, and were arrived off Dartmouth, having gone full three miles in as many hours, in direct opposition to the tide, which only befriended us out of our harbour; and though the wind was perhaps our friend, it was so very silent, and exerted itself so little in our favour, that, like some cool partisans, it was difficult to say whether it was with us or against us. The captain, however, declared the former to be the case during the whole three hours; but at last he perceived his error, or rather, perhaps, this friend, which had hitherto wavered in choosing his side, became now more determined. The captain then suddenly tacked about, and, asserting that he was bewitched, submitted to return to the place from whence he came. Now, though I am as free from superstition as any man breathing, and never did believe in witches, notwithstanding all the excellent arguments of my Lord Chief Justice Hale in their favour, and long before they were put down by Act of Parliament, yet by what power a ship of burden should sail three miles against both wind and tide, I cannot conceive, unless there was some supernatural interposition in the case; nay, could we admit that the wind stood neuter, the difficulty would still remain.

So that we must of necessity conclude that the ship was either bewinded or bewitched.

The captain, perhaps, had another meaning. He imagined himself, I believe, bewitched, because the wind, instead of persevering in its change in his favour, for change it certainly did that morning, should suddenly return to its favourite station, and blow him back towards the bay. But, if this was his opinion, he soon saw cause to alter; for he had not measured half the way back when the wind again declared in his favour, and so loudly that there was no possibility of being mistaken.

The orders for the second tack were given, and obeyed with much more alacrity than those had been for the first. We were all of us indeed in high spirits on the occasion; though some of us a little regretted the good things we were likely to leave behind us by the fisherman's neglect; I might give it a worse name, for he faithfully promised to execute the commission, which he had had abundant opportunity to do; but *nautica fides* deserves as much to be proverbial as ever *Punica fides* could formerly have done. Nay, when we consider that the Carthaginians came from the Phenicians, who are supposed to have produced the first mariners, we may probably see the true reason of the adage, and it may open a field of very curious discoveries to the antiquarian.

We were, however, too eager to pursue our

voyage to suffer anything we left behind us to interrupt our happiness, which, indeed, many agreeable circumstances conspired to advance. The weather was inexpressibly pleasant, and we were all seated on the deck, when our canvas began to swell with the wind. We had likewise in our view above thirty other sail around us, all in the same situation. Here an observation occurred to me, which, perhaps, though extremely obvious, did not offer itself to every individual in our little fleet: when I perceived with what different success we proceeded under the influence of a superior power, which, while we lay almost idle ourselves, pushed us forward on our intended voyage, and compared this with the slow progress which we had made in the morning, of ourselves, and without any such assistance, I could not help reflecting how often the greatest abilities lie wind-bound as it were in life; or, if they venture out and attempt to beat the seas, they struggle in vain against wind and tide, and, if they have not sufficient prudence to put back, are most probably cast away on the rocks and quicksands which are every day ready to devour them.

It was now our fortune to set out *melioribus avibus.* The wind freshened so briskly in our poop that the shore appeared to move from us as fast as we did from the shore. The captain declared he was sure of a wind, meaning its

continuance; but he had disappointed us so often that he had lost all credit. However, he kept his word a little better now, and we lost sight of our native land as joyfully, at least, as it is usual to regain it.

Sunday.—The next morning the captain told me he thought himself thirty miles to the westward of Plymouth, and before evening he declared that the Lizard Point, which is the extremity of Cornwall, bore several leagues to leeward. Nothing remarkable passed this day, except the captain's devotion, who, in his own phrase, summoned all hands to prayers, which were read by a common sailor upon deck, with more devout force and address than they are commonly read by a country curate, and received with more decency and attention by the sailors than are usually preserved in city congregations. I am indeed assured, that if any such affected disregard of the solemn office in which they were engaged, as I have seen practised by fine gentlemen and ladies, expressing a kind of apprehension lest they should be suspected of being really in earnest in their devotion, had been shewn here, they would have contracted the contempt of the whole audience. To say the truth, from what I observed in the behaviour of the sailors in this voyage, and on comparing it with what I have formerly seen of them at sea and on shore, I am convinced that on land there is nothing more idle

and dissolute; in their own element there are no persons near the level of their degree who live in the constant practice of half so many good qualities. They are, for much the greater part, perfect masters of their business, and always extremely alert, and ready in executing it, without any regard to fatigue or hazard. The soldiers themselves are not better disciplined, nor more obedient to orders, than these whilst aboard; they submit to every difficulty which attends their calling with cheerfulness, and no less virtues than patience and fortitude are exercised by them every day of their lives.

All these good qualities, however, they always leave behind them on shipboard; the sailor out of water is, indeed, as wretched an animal as the fish out of water; for though the former hath, in common with amphibious animals, the bare power of existing on the land, yet if he be kept there any time he never fails to become a nuisance.

The ship having had a good deal of motion since she was last under sail, our women returned to their sickness, and I to my solitude; having, for twenty-four hours together, scarce opened my lips to a single person. This circumstance of being shut up within the circumference of a few yards, with a score of human creatures, with not one of whom it was possible to converse, was perhaps so rare as scarce

ever to have happened before, nor could it ever happen to one who disliked it more than myself, or to myself at a season when I wanted more food for my social disposition, or could converse less wholesomely and happily with my own thoughts. To this accident, which fortune opened to me in the Downs, was owing the first serious thought which I ever entertained of enrolling myself among the voyage-writers; some of the most amusing pages, if, indeed, there be any which deserve that name, were possibly the production of the most disagreeable hours which ever haunted the author.

Monday.—At noon the captain took an observation, by which it appeared that Ushant bore some leagues northward of us, and that we were just entering the bay of Biscay. We had advanced a very few miles in this bay before we were entirely becalmed: we furled our sails, as being of no use to us while we lay in this most disagreeable situation, more detested by the sailors than the most violent tempest: we were alarmed with the loss of a fine piece of salt beef, which had been hung in the sea to freshen it; this being, it seems, the strange property of salt-water. The thief was immediately suspected, and presently afterwards taken by the sailors. He was, indeed, no other than a huge shark, who, not knowing when he was well off, swallowed another piece of beef,

together with a great iron crook on which it was hung, and by which he was dragged into the ship.

I should scarce have mentioned the catching this shark, though so exactly conformable to the rules and practice of voyage-writing, had it not been for a strange circumstance that attended it. This was the recovery of the stolen beef out of the shark's maw, where it lay unchewed and undigested, and whence, being conveyed into the pot, the flesh, and the thief that had stolen it, joined together in furnishing variety to the ship's crew.

During this calm we likewise found the mast of a large vessel, which the captain thought had lain at least three years in the sea. It was stuck all over with a little shell-fish or reptile, called a barnacle, and which probably are the prey of the rock-fish, as our captain calls it, asserting that it is the finest fish in the world; for which we are obliged to confide entirely to his taste; for, though he struck the fish with a kind of harping-iron, and wounded him, I am convinced, to death, yet he could not possess himself of his body; but the poor wretch escaped to linger out a few hours with probably great torments.

In the evening our wind returned, and so briskly, that we ran upwards of twenty leagues before the next day's [*Tuesday's*] observation, which brought us to lat. 47° 42′. The captain

promised us a very speedy passage through the bay; but he deceived us, or the wind deceived him, for it so slackened at sunset, that it scarce carried us a mile in an hour during the whole succeeding night.

Wednesday.—A gale struck up a little after sunrising, which carried us between three and four knots or miles an hour. We were this day at noon about the middle of the bay of Biscay, when the wind once more deserted us, and we were so entirely becalmed, that we did not advance a mile in many hours. My fresh-water reader will perhaps conceive no unpleasant idea from this calm; but it affected us much more than a storm could have done; for, as the irascible passions of men are apt to swell with indignation long after the injury which first raised them is over, so fared it with the sea. It rose mountains high, and lifted our poor ship up and down, backwards and forwards, with so violent an emotion, that there was scarce a man in the ship better able to stand than myself. Every utensil in our cabin rolled up and down, as we should have rolled ourselves, had not our chairs been fast lashed to the floor. In this situation, with our tables likewise fastened by ropes, the captain and myself took our meal with some difficulty, and swallowed a little of our broth, for we spilt much the greater part. The remainder of our dinner being an old, lean, tame duck roasted, I

regretted but little the loss of, my teeth not being good enough to have chewed it.

Our women, who began to creep out of their holes in the morning, retired again within the cabin to their beds, and were no more heard of this day, in which my whole comfort was to find by the captain's relation that the swelling was sometimes much worse; he did, indeed, take this occasion to be more communicative than ever, and informed me of such misadventures that had befallen him within forty-six years at sea as might frighten a very bold spirit from undertaking even the shortest voyage. Were these, indeed, but universally known, our matrons of quality would possibly be deterred from venturing their tender offspring at sea; by which means our navy would lose the honour of many a young commodore, who at twenty-two is better versed in maritime affairs than real seamen are made by experience at sixty.

And this may, perhaps, appear the more extraordinary, as the education of both seems to be pretty much the same; neither of them having had their courage tried by Virgil's description of a storm, in which, inspired as he was, I doubt whether our captain doth not exceed him.

In the evening the wind, which continued in the NW., again freshened, and that so briskly that Cape Finisterre appeared by this day's ob-

servation to bear a few miles to the southward. We now indeed sailed, or rather flew, near ten knots an hour; and the captain, in the redundancy of his good humour, declared he would go to church at Lisbon on Sunday next, for that he was sure of a wind; and, indeed, we all firmly believed him. But the event again contradicted him; for we were again visited by a calm in the evening.

But here, though our voyage was retarded, we were entertained with a scene, which as no one can behold without going to sea, so no one can form an idea of anything equal to it on shore. We were seated on the deck, women and all, in the serenest evening that can be imagined. Not a single cloud presented itself to our view, and the sun himself was the only object which engrossed our whole attention. He did indeed set with a majesty which is incapable of description, with which, while the horizon was yet blazing with glory, our eyes were called off to the opposite part to survey the moon, which was then at full, and which in rising presented us with the second object that this world hath offered to our vision. Compared to these the pageantry of theatres, or splendor of courts, are sights almost below the regard of children.

We did not return from the deck till late in the evening; the weather being inexpressibly pleasant, and so warm that even my old dis-

temper perceived the alteration of the climate. There was indeed a swell, but nothing comparable to what we had felt before, and it affected us on the deck much less than in the cabin.

Friday.—The calm continued till sun-rising, when the wind likewise arose, but unluckily for us it came from a wrong quarter; it was SSE., which is that very wind which Juno would have solicited of Æolus, had Æneas been in our latitude bound for Lisbon.

The captain now put on his most melancholy aspect, and resumed his former opinion that he was bewitched. He declared with great solemnity that this was worse and worse, for that a wind directly in his teeth was worse than no wind at all. Had we pursued the course which the wind persuaded us to take we had gone directly for Newfoundland, if we had not fallen in with Ireland in our way. Two ways remained to avoid this: one was to put into a port of Galicia; the other, to beat to the westward with as little sail as possible: and this was our captain's election.

As for us, poor passengers, any port would have been welcome to us; especially, as not only our fresh provisions, except a great number of old ducks and fowls, but even our bread was come to an end, and nothing but sea-biscuit remained, which I could not chew. So that now for the first time in my life I saw what it was to want a bit of bread.

The wind however was not so unkind as we had apprehended; but, having declined with the sun, it changed at the approach of the moon, and became again favourable to us, though so gentle that the next day's observation carried us very little to the southward of Cape Finisterre. This evening at six the wind, which had been very quiet all day, rose very high, and, continuing in our favour, drove us seven knots an hour.

This day we saw a sail, the only one, as I heard of, we had seen in our whole passage through the bay. I mention this on account of what appeared to me somewhat extraordinary. Though she was at such a distance that I could only perceive she was a ship, the sailors discovered that she was a snow, bound to a port in Galicia.

Sunday.—After prayers, which our good captain read on the deck with an audible voice, and with but one mistake, of a lion for Elias, in the second lesson for this day, we found ourselves far advanced in 42°, and the captain declared we should sup off Porto. We had not much wind this day; but, as this was directly in our favour, we made it up with sail, of which we crowded all we had. We went only at the rate of four miles an hour, but with so uneasy a motion, continually rolling from side to side, that I suffered more than I had done in our whole voyage; my bowels being almost twisted

out of my belly. However, the day was very serene and bright; and the captain, who was in high spirits, affirmed he had never passed a pleasanter at sea.

The wind continued so brisk that we ran upward of six knots an hour the whole night.

Monday.—In the morning our captain concluded that he was got into lat. 40°, and was very little short of the Burlings, as they are called in the charts. We came up with them at five in the afternoon, being the first land we had distinctly seen since we left Devonshire. They consist of abundance of little rocky islands, a little distant from the shore, three of them only shewing themselves above the water.

Here the Portuguese maintain a kind of garrison, if we may allow it that name. It consists of malefactors, who are banished hither for a term, for divers small offences—a policy which they may have copied from the Egyptians, as we may read in Diodorus Siculus. That wise people, to prevent the corruption of good manners by evil communication, built a town on the Red Sea, whither they transported a great number of their criminals, having first set an indelible mark on them, to prevent their returning and mixing with the sober part of their citizens.

These rocks lie about fifteen leagues northwest of Cape da Roca, or, as it is commonly called, the Rock of Lisbon, which we passed

early the next morning [*Tuesday*]. The wind, indeed, would have carried us thither sooner; but the captain was not in a hurry, as he was to lose nothing by his delay. This is a very high mountain, situated on the northern side of the mouth of the river Tajo, which, rising above Madrid, in Spain, and soon becoming navigable for small craft, empties itself, after a long course, into the sea, about four leagues below Lisbon.

On the summit of the rock stands a hermitage, which is now in the possession of an Englishman, who was formerly master of a vessel trading to Lisbon; and, having changed his religion and his manners, the latter of which, at least, were none of the best, betook himself to this place, in order to do penance for his sins. He is now very old, and hath inhabited this hermitage for a great number of years, during which he hath received some countenance from the royal family, and particularly from the present queen dowager, whose piety refuses no trouble or expense by which she may make a proselyte, being used to say that the saving one soul would repay all the endeavours of her life.

Here we waited for the tide, and had the pleasure of surveying the face of the country, the soil of which, at this season, exactly resembles an old brick-kiln, or a field where the green sward is pared up and set a-burning, or

rather a-smoking, in little heaps to manure the land. This sight will, perhaps, of all others, make an Englishman proud of, and pleased with, his own country, which in verdure excels, I believe, every other country. Another deficiency here is the want of large trees, nothing above a shrub being here to be discovered in the circumference of many miles.

At this place we took a pilot on board, who, being the first Portuguese we spoke to, gave us an instance of that religious observance which is paid by all nations to their laws; for, whereas it is here a capital offence to assist any person in going on shore from a foreign vessel before it hath been examined, and every person in it viewed by the magistrates of health, as they are called, this worthy pilot, for a very small reward, rowed the Portuguese priest to shore at this place, beyond which he did not dare to advance, and in venturing whither he had given sufficient testimony of love for his native country.

We did not enter the Tajo till noon, when, after passing several old castles and other buildings which had greatly the aspect of ruins, we came to the castle of Belem, where we had a full prospect of Lisbon, and were, indeed, within three miles of it.

Here we were saluted with a gun, which was a signal to pass no farther till we had complied with certain ceremonies which the laws

of this country require to be observed by all ships which arrive in this port. We were obliged then to cast anchor, and expect the arrival of the officers of the customs, without whose passport no ship must proceed farther than this place.

Here likewise we received a visit from one of those magistrates of health before mentioned. He refused to come on board the ship till every person in her had been drawn up on deck and personally viewed by him. This occasioned some delay on my part, as it was not the work of a minute to lift me from the cabin to the deck. The captain thought my particular case might have been excused from this ceremony; and that it would be abundantly sufficient if the magistrate, who was obliged afterwards to visit the cabin, surveyed me there. But this did not satisfy the magistrate's strict regard to his duty. When he was told of my lameness, he called out, with a voice of authority, "Let him be brought up," and his orders were presently complied with. He was indeed a person of great dignity, as well as of most exact fidelity in the discharge of his trust. Both which are the more admirable, as his salary is less than thirty pounds English per annum.

Before a ship hath been visited by one of those magistrates no person can lawfully go on board her, nor can any on board depart from her. This I saw exemplified in a remarkable

instance. The young lad whom I have mentioned as one of our passengers was here met by his father, who, on the first news of the captain's arrival, came from Lisbon to Belem in a boat, being eager to embrace a son whom he had not seen for many years. But when he came alongside our ship neither did the father dare ascend nor the son descend, as the magistrate of health had not yet been on board.

Some of my readers will, perhaps, admire the great caution of this policy, so nicely calculated for the preservation of this country from all pestilential distempers. Others will as probably regard it as too exact and formal to be constantly persisted in, in seasons of the utmost safety, as well as in times of danger. I will not decide either way, but will content myself with observing that I never yet saw or heard of a place where a traveller had so much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only use of which, as all such matters begin and end in form only, is to put it into the power of low and mean fellows to be either rudely officious or grossly corrupt, as they shall see occasion to prefer the gratification of their pride or of their avarice.

Of this kind, likewise, is that power which is lodged with other officers here, of taking away every grain of snuff and every leaf of tobacco brought hither from other countries, though only for the temporary use of the person dur-

ing his residence here. This is executed with great insolence, and, as it is in the hands of the dregs of the people, very scandalously; for, under pretence of searching for tobacco and snuff, they are sure to steal whatever they can find, insomuch that when they came on board our sailors addressed us in the Covent-garden language: "Pray, gentlemen and ladies, take care of your swords and watches." Indeed, I never yet saw anything equal to the contempt and hatred which our honest tars every moment expressed for these Portuguese officers.

At Belem lies buried Catharine of Arragon, widow of prince Arthur, eldest son of our Henry VII., afterwards married to, and divorced from, Henry VIII. Close by the church where her remains are deposited is a large convent of Geronymites, one of the most beautiful piles of building in all Portugal.

In the evening, at twelve, our ship, having received previous visits from all the necessary parties, took the advantage of the tide, and having sailed up to Lisbon cast anchor there, in a calm, and a moonshiny night, which made the passage incredibly pleasant to the women, who remained three hours enjoying it, whilst I was left to the cooler transports of enjoying their pleasures at second-hand; and yet, cooler as they may be, whoever is totally ignorant of such sensation is, at the same time, void of all ideas of friendship.

Wednesday[1].—Lisbon, before which we now lay at anchor, is said to be built on the same number of hills with old Rome; but these do not all appear to the water; on the contrary one sees from thence one vast high hill and rock, with buildings arising above one another, and that in so steep and almost perpendicular a manner that they all seem to have but one foundation.

As the houses, convents, churches, &c., are large, and all built with white stone, they look very beautiful at a distance; but as you approach nearer, and find them to want every kind of ornament, all idea of beauty vanishes at once. While I was surveying the prospect of this city, which bears so little resemblance to any other that I have ever seen, a reflection occurred to me that, if a man was suddenly to be removed from Palmyra hither, and should take a view of no other city, in how glorious a light would the ancient architecture appear to him! and what desolation and destruction of arts and sciences would he conclude had happened between the several æras of these cities!

I had now waited full three hours upon deck for the return of my man, whom I had sent to bespeak a good dinner (a thing which had been long unknown to me) on shore, and then to bring a Lisbon chaise with him to the sea-

[1] Apparently August 7.—Ed.

shore; but it seems the impertinence of the providore was not yet brought to a conclusion. At three o'clock, when I was, from emptiness, rather faint than hungry, my man returned, and told me there was a new law lately made that no passenger should set his foot on shore without a special order from the providore, and that he himself would have been sent to prison for disobeying it, had he not been protected as the servant of the captain. He informed me likewise that the captain had been very industrious to get this order, but that it was then the providore's hour of sleep, a time when no man, except the king himself, durst disturb him.

To avoid prolixity, though in a part of my narrative which may be more agreeable to my reader than it was to me, the providore, having at last finished his nap, dispatched this absurd matter of form, and gave me leave to come, or rather to be carried, on shore.

What it was that gave the first hint of this strange law is not easy to guess. Possibly, in the infancy of their defection, and before their government could be well established, they were willing to guard against the bare possibility of surprise, of the success of which bare possibility the Trojan horse will remain for ever on record, as a great and memorable example. Now the Portuguese have no walls to secure them, and a vessel of two or three

hundred tons will contain a much larger body of troops than could be concealed in that famous machine, though Virgil tells us (somewhat hyperbolically, I believe) that it was as big as a mountain.

About seven in the evening I got into a chaise on shore, and was driven through the nastiest city in the world, though at the same time one of the most populous, to a kind of coffee-house, which is very pleasantly situated on the brow of hill, about a mile from the city, and hath a very fine prospect of the river Tajo from Lisbon to the sea.

Here we regaled ourselves with a good supper, for which we were as well charged as if the bill had been made on the Bath road, between Newbury and London.

And now we could joyfully say,

Egressi optata Troes potiuntur arena.

Therefore, in the words of Horace,

—hic Finis chartæque viæque.

The End.

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